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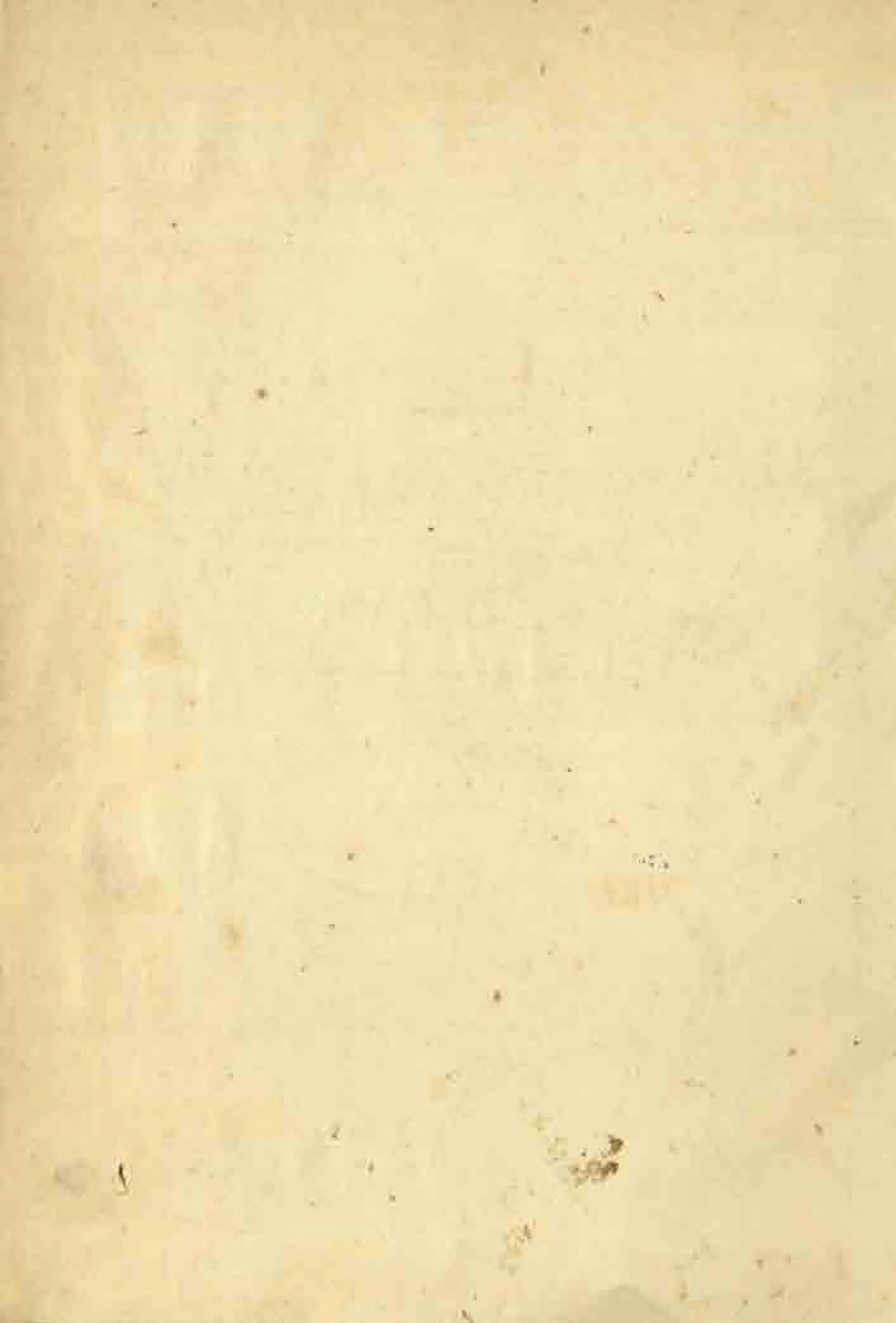
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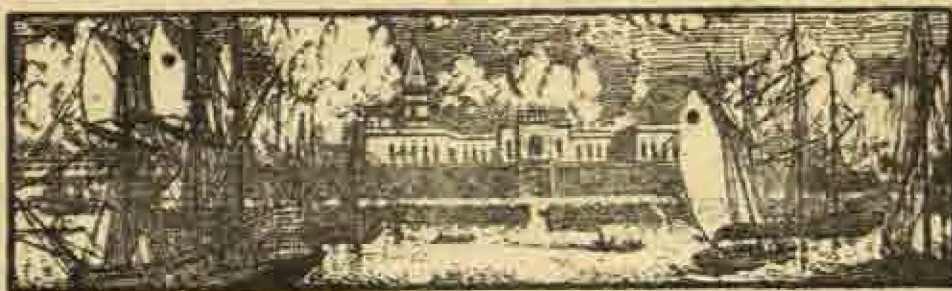








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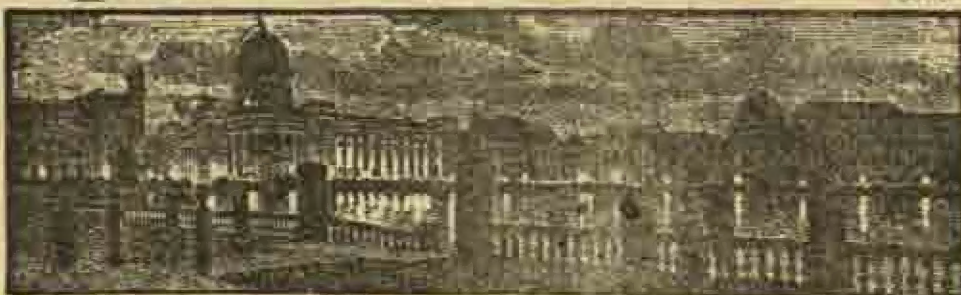
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# ERRATA.

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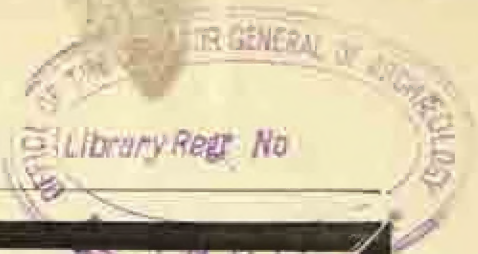
40. 5th line from bottom for "married at Berhampur" read "married most probably in Calcutta."
64. 31st line from top. Like Karma Devas these words should come in after "made of bees" printed under figure 10 on opposite page.
65. 9th line from top. After "represent" add "either."
67. 21st " " " For "pilgrim" read "author."
67. 23rd omit "he also states that"
67. 32nd line omit "among others to Ma Tuan-lin"
33. 5th line from bottom. For "Law" read "Low."
34. 21st and 22nd lines from top. For "Laycock" read "Lacock."
34. 22nd line from top. For "Ivray" read "Ivory."
36. Note.—"I presume this was the second daughter of the writer." Substitute "Charlotte, born 1813, married J. A. Crawford." 2nd line of Note 6. For "Law" read "Low."
- 8th line of Note 7. "Charlotte" wife of Richmond Thackeray. (This is a mistake: that lady's name was Anne.)
137. 13th line from bottom. For "Haltred" read "Halhed."
138. 9th line of Note 12. After "Burlton" add "Bennet."
153. 21st line from the top. "Shortly after writing the following letter he "died."

This is a mistake. Sydney Grier writes to the Editor: "If I may quote from an article of mine on the Vellore Mutiny, as yet unpublished the (Editor of the *National Review* in which it is to appear gives permission for these facts to appear in your pages, in view of the interest of the subject).

"Early in Hastings' Indian career, when he was at Murshidabad in 1759, Randolph Marriott, resident at Balasore, appears as one of his familiar correspondents. Marriot must have retired early, for in 1770 he writes from England to tell of his marriage. For many years his letters are few and far between, but in view of the cordial tone of the correspondence when it is resumed in 1806, and of the fact that his youngest son seems to have been a godson of Mrs. Hastings, it is clear that the friendship must have been interrupted.

"Thomas Marriott, the eldest son, was appointed guardian of the remaining widows and children of Tipu Sahib at Vellore, when he had been fifteen years in India. In the article, I trace as far as possible—the records are extremely fragmentary—his adventures during the revolt. Randolph Marriott is a very old man in 1806, and this before the Vellore correspondence ends in 1807, his widow sending Hastings the last copies of her son's letter. He must evidently have returned to India after his marriage, as you find him at Balasore in 1780, and the fact that place is so near Calcutta may be the reason why he does not seem to have written to Hastings for so long. I may mention that there can be no doubt that the writer of the early and the late Randolph Marriott's letters is the same, as the writing is very peculiar and distinctive."





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DEVILLE'S BEST OF WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY AS A BOY.



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The Index to Vol. VI. has been compiled and will be issued with the January-March No. of 1911.

The concluding portion of the Midnapore Military Records has been crowded out of the present number but is in print.

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## NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

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Contributors are asked not to fail in giving full names, or at least initials of persons referred to in their articles.



# THE HISTORY OF THE



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## Some Further Letters of Alexander Elliot.



IN the *Leaves from the Editor's Note Book* of Vol. II the career of Alexander Elliot, the younger brother of the first Lord Minto and the friend of Warren Hastings, was sketched, and a number of original documents relating to Elliot and his important, but uncompleted, mission to the Marathas were published for the first time. The story of the capture of Monsieur Chevalier at Cuttack has been told in the same place. A few months ago the Editor requested Miss "Sydney Grier" to investigate once more the Warren Hastings' manuscripts at the British Museum, and if the letters of Alexander Elliot therein preserved were not so numerous as to render their publication in *Bengal: Past and Present* too costly a project, to procure the services of an expert copyist, and have the letters copied. Miss "Sydney Grier," whose enthusiasm for all that pertains to the history of the "Great Proconsul" and whose skill in dealing with records of the period are so well known, most kindly undertook this task, and, as the Elliot letters proved to be few in number, Miss Alice Mayes was engaged to copy them.

The first of the letters belongs to Alexander Elliot's voyage home in 1775, when he left Calcutta entrusted with the task of publishing the proceedings at the two trials of Nanda Kumar.

The second, written after his return from England, throws some light on the complications connected with the appointment of Wheler to the Council, and the amusing manœuvres of the Governor-General on the one hand and Philip Francis on the other to secure Wheler's support at the Council board. These letters must be read in connection with what has been written on the subject in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II.

Elliot's handwriting is hurried and often difficult to read, and, save for full stops, his punctuation is almost nil. Miss Mayes has done her work with scientific fidelity, but, in the interests of the reader, I have ventured to insert a few commas in sentences which without their addition would be complicated, and I have also reduced the number of capital letters.\*

\* For the benefit of readers in England, not acquainted with Anglo-Indian terms, the following words in these letters may be thus explained—

Casid—a messenger.



No. 1.

CATE OF GOOD HOPE,  
8th December 1775.

Brit. Museum Add. MSS. 29136 f. 385.

HON'BLE SIR,

I did myself the pleasure of addressing you from the Mauritius. We have had but a very indifferent passage from that Island to this place, and, as the ship sails but slowly, I fear we shall not arrive in England till after the period in which it is probable the Administration will determine upon East India affairs. The *Astoria* sailed from hence in September and a French snow that arrived here yesterday informs us that she spoke to her to the northward of the Line in the month of October, so that she has by no means had a bad passage. I shall write you no Europe news, because the ship by which my letter will be conveyed must give you much later intelligence than we can possibly have at this time. There are two French ships arrived since us. They sailed from Port L'Orient in the month of August, but though I have taken the greatest pains to inform myself from their officers of Indian news, I can obtain no satisfactory intelligence. They in general say that they heard no mention made of any disputes in our Councils or any steps taken either by Administration or the Company relative to India, and that they would most undoubtedly have known had any strong measure been adopted or any great noise been made in England. The *British King* must have arrived long before their departure, but I cannot much depend upon what they say as they do not appear very intelligent.

Petrie is here and is to be my fellow passenger home, he has shewn me part of a letter written by himself to you on the subject of the French preparations for rendering the flag of their monarch respectable in India. His opportunities for obtaining an insight into their situation were much better than mine, and I do not find myself capable of adding anything to his information.

Count D'Annoph has been here in his way to Europe, and, I am informed, behaved in a very ridiculous manner. Major de Prehn, the Commandant of the Dutch troops, to whom I was recommended by Mr. Stewart, was a very intimate friend of General Clavering's in Germany and is still his correspondent. The General has written him a full account of what passed between him and the Count appealing to him for the truth of certain facts reflecting upon the character of the Count. The Major declares that he always considered him as an adventurer and as a man who had lost the affections of a noble family of which he is a member. I cannot however find out whether he has absolutely supported the truth of the General's assertions or avoided making any positive declaration. I believe the latter, and as he

---

Dawke = Mail Service : postal runner.

Fringles = Europeans.

Chonte = Blackmail of "one fourth part" demanded by the Marathas as compensation for leaving districts unplundered.

Tatoo = ponies.

Hircarrabs = scouts.

Pallankia = A litter of box shape with poles for the bearers to carry it by.

Catcherrree = Court house.

Gaut = a descent to a river, landing place or a mountain pass.

Nullah = ditch.



appears to be acquainted with my connections, and consequently does not consider me as a friend to General Clavering he talks to me upon the subject with a visible caution.

I have the honour to be  
Hon'ble Sir,  
Your most Obedt. humble Servt.  
ALEX. ELLIOT.

P.S.—Capt. Rees sails tomorrow.

No. 11.

CUDJEREE, the 7th December, 1777.

Brit. Museum Add. MSS. 29139, f. 42r.

MY DEAR SIR;

I arrived here yesterday morning and found that nobody had joined Mr. Wheeler since his arrival, a Mr. Watts excepted, who has been from Calcutta upwards of a month. I had an hour's conversation with him, and though I do not desire you to depend exactly upon what passed as the line he certainly will take, I am happy to tell you that as far as words go he is inclined to Peace if not to be your friend. I ran over the great Departments of the Government and painted the picture of a flourishing Country and a secure Administration. I persuaded him I think that nothing but system could authorise opposition to your measures, grounding this opinion more upon the non-agitation of any great questions which arose from the good order to which the affairs of Government were now reduced, than to your being right in any debates which may have arisen. The result of our conversation was that he himself started two ideas, one of bringing about an entire conciliation between every Member of the Administration, and the other, if that should fail, which he seems to think cannot be the case, of giving a candid opinion upon questions which may be brought before him as a Member of the Government without giving his consent to questions unconnected with the currency of Business, I mean questions tending to retrospect. I pushed him more upon the subject of the Resignation\* than he pushed me, knowing that a complainant has at least more courage than one on his defence. I have the satisfaction to tell you that he disapproves totally of the conduct held by Sir J. Clavering and Francis, and agrees with me that had, Sir Jo. Clavering been on the spot, he must have decided against his brother. Nay, he acknowledges that you were under *no tie* to resign for a twelve month after the arrival of the news of Maclane's act, and that it was generally understood so in England, though it was thought, if you avowed Maclane's powers, that you would have resigned immediately upon his arrival or as soon after as convenience would admit. A curious circumstance has come to my knowledge since I came down here which was carefully concealed at home. Mr. Wheeler came to India without any Commission at all, for he received a letter from the Treasury by a Vessel which joined the *Portland* to sea and caught her some days after she sailed, enjoining him to resign his appointment to succeed to the vacancy occasioned by your Resignation but forwarding him no Commission. He seems to consider me as his Guardian Angel who has placed him at the Council Board, and it is very certain that, had no later Despatch arrived in India than those in his own Ship, he could not have taken his Seat. I learnt this from Mr. Watts before I

\* That is the Resignation which Col. L. Maclane had, submitted on Hastings's behalf, and which Hastings repudiated.

P. 14. Wheeler's arrival.



boarded the *Portland*, and I think it gave me an advantage which I should not otherwise have had, for he had been for six months so very uneasy under the idea of coming to India to count his fingers for some months, that my information relieved him from a load of anxiety. His general declaration is that he did not come to India to oppose you, that he did oppose you in England, but (speaking to me) that I know the nature of political opposition too well to suppose it proceeded from any personal enmity or ill will to Mr. Hastings or Mr. Barwell. One thing, however, I must observe that he has yet seen no one but myself. Mr. Plowden\* is not yet arrived from Calcutta. A Letter is just arrived from Mr. Francis; what it contains I know not but I have no apprehension from a letter. The impression that Peace is a bed of roses and hostility a bed of thorns seems too strong on his mind to be removed by a Letter. I have said to him that though we have had no late violent dissension in Council, and, though Mr. Francis has given us reason to hope that he too is inclineable to more quiet than has been enjoyed by this Country for some years, yet that it is more than possible if he has any opening to hope assistance from Mr. Wheeler he may revive our old disputes—and may paint the Company's situation as declining.

I have furnished him with two or three questions upon the state of our Treasury or Receipts and Disbursements and Owde Subsidy, which he says, if Mr. Francis answers in the affirmative or if he afterwards finds to be fairly stated by me, he must be of opinion that there can be no great ground of opposition to your Government. The Madrass Business he seemed to apprehend most. I have before explained this to you by informing you that he was the active man in Leadenhall Street in sending Ed. Pigot and in disliking the Nabob. This subject shall be the subject of conversation when we meet, at any rate it is a distant object and cannot interfere with present of proposition of being on good terms as publick men.

I am forced to note you these few lines with Mr. and Mrs. Wheeler looking me in the face, and I can scarcely persuade myself that they do not know what I am writing. My epistle cannot therefore be very accurate. Mr. Wheeler consented to my writing to you to send carriages to Budge Budge, and this he is to suppose fills upwards of two sheets of paper? Will you be so good as to send a carriage for four People which is all that will be wanted. I do not wish to part with them till we get to Budge Budge, as I wish to see whether there will be any alteration after he has seen Plowden and Mr. Francis, who it is said is coming down, besides I find myself extremely well in Mrs. Wheeler's Company.

I have the honour to be

Your ever faithful and humble servant,

ALEX. ELLIOT.

The remaining Letters belong to Elliot's Mission to the Maratha Court at Nagpur.

No. III.

Add. MSS. 29741, f. 195.

CUTTACK, 31st, July 1778

HONBLE SIR,

I wrote you a few Lines from Balisore on the 25. of the month, and mentioned in my Letter that I hoped to be here in 40 hours! I have been dreadfully disappointed as I only

\* The first Mrs. Wheeler was a Childs's Plowden.



arrived yesterday evening. The delay was occasioned partly by the overflowing of the Country and the want of Boats on Nullahs, which were swelled by the rains to deep rivers, and still more by the departure of the Bearers from the different chokies before my arrival. I have not, however, any great reason to complain on the whole, as I have just been nine days from Calcutta to this place which considering the bad season of the year is rather expeditious than otherwise. I told you in the note I wrote from Balisore that Mr. Chevalier was certainly at Cuttack, and that I should exert myself to seize him: I mean to confine myself in this Letter intirely to this subject.

On my arrival at Balisore I learnt from Mr. Marriot,\* that two frenchmen on horseback had arrived from Bengal about five days before; that on their arrival they went to the house of the Danish Resident and sending for Monar. Sanson accompanied him from thence to the french Factory next morning. That he received certain information from his Hircarrahs that Mr. Chevalier was of the Company and sent a man who was perfectly acquainted with Chevalier's person to examine the travellers. That he learnt from him that Mr. Chevalier was not one of the two Gentlemen but that he had seen him in the french Factory dressed in the habit of a Mussilman and with his face blacked. Mr. Marriot further informed me that he had sent again and that there could not be the least doubt of Chevalier's being there in the dress above described, and that one of the two frenchmen on horseback was his coach man. They set off from Balisore according to Mr. Marriot's account about the twenty-second of the month, Mr. Chevalier not mounting any of the horses but walking like a Peon near them. I had not from the manner in which Mr. Marriot gave me the information the smallest doubt of Mr. Chevalier's being in Company with the frenchmen, but what left it in my opinion without a doubt was a note which Mr. Marriot shewed me written to him by Mr. Sanson, the french Resident at Balisore, just before his departure in which he earnestly entreats him to give him a credit on Cuttack for a thousand Rupees promising him Bills upon Chandernagore, Chintaura or Serampore as he might chuse. He uses words to this effect to induce him to lend him the money—"You need have no apprehensions on the subject of your money as you must be sensible I do not borrow it on my own account." I had brought with me a Havildar and twelve Sepoys from Midaapore, partly from an apprehension that Monar. Sanson, who was represented to me as attended with some Sepoys and armed Peons, might think it worth while to interrupt my journey, and partly intending to make him prisoner, if I could obtain the Phaujedar's leave, six of them arrived at the moment I sent away your Letter, and I directed them to make the best of their way to Cuttack, leaving directions at Balisore for the rest to follow immediately upon their arrival; when I left Balisore I expected to have arrived at Cuttack three days sooner than the Sepoys, but, from the causes mentioned in the preceding part of my Letter, the Sepoys overtook our palankeens about fifteen coos from Cuttack, where Mr. Farquhar and myself quitted the palankeens and went on to Cuttack as well as we could with the Sepoys. Upon our arrival I found the frenchmen had taken up their residence in the publick cutcherree of the town and had not quitted Cuttack. I likewise learnt from Mr. James Anderson that Rajah Ram Pandit, the Naib Nabob, had received a letter from you desiring him to seize them, or at least not to permit them to quit Cuttack till they should receive orders from Nagpore, and that he had determined upon the last alternative. It appeared likewise that the french Gentlemen had repeatedly applied for permission to wait upon the Nabob and the Dewan which had been as often refused them and that the Rajah or Nabob, for he bears both titles, had given orders

\* For a notice of Randolph Marriot See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. vi., p. 33.



to all the manjees at the gauts not to carry any Europeans across the river without his express permission. I waited upon the Nabob, who had assembled a full Durbar to receive me on the Evening of my arrival, but seeing the french Gentlemen in the open cutcharree as I went by, I thought it better to say nothing to the Nabob about them, till I could know for certain whether Chevalier was amongst them or not, as seeing them should he happen to be absent, which he probably would be at the time the whole town was in a bustle on account of my arrival, would render him more cautious if concealed in Cuttack. I told Rajah Ram that I meant the visit merely as a visit of Ceremony, and that I should wait upon him as this morning upon business. I made all the enquiries which my situation here will admit of whether Mr. Chevalier is with the other french Gentlemen or not, and am very well satisfied that he has not taken up his quarters in the cutcharree, nay I very much fear if he was ever with them that he parted company before they reached Cuttack. Mr. Marriot sent two Hircarrabs to watch them from Balisore. They are now here and I have questioned them. They followed the party at some little distance and always slept in the same village with the frenchmen. They saw none of the servants who appeared to them to resemble a frenchman or a European in disguise. They never in the course of the journey observed that any of the frenchmen dismounted to let a servant ride his horse and they had no more than the three horses on which the frenchmen rode. They never perceived though they often saw the three frenchmen eat, that any of the native servants eat with them. I examined the boatman who brought the frenchmen across the Mahab River who must have had them in his boat for upwards of an hour and a half, and he says that all the party horses and servants crossed in his boat at the same time and that he did not perceive that any of the native servants looked like a European in disguise. Mnasaram, a Hircarrab, whom I got from you, knowing Mr. Chevalier's person perfectly, I sent him early this morning to examine the countenances of the french Gentlemen and their servants, he is returned and assures me that Mr. Chevalier is not at the cutcharree either in European or Hindostan cloathes, but what makes me still more apprehend a mistake in Mr. Marriot, as to the persons of the frenchmen is that one of Mr. Anderson's Hircarrabs declares that he was at Chandernagore for ten or twelve days within these four months and knows both the person of Mr. Chevalier and of his Coachman and that the Coachman is not one of the three french Gentlemen. He says he has seen all Mr. Chevalier's horses at Chandernagore and that neither of the two horses which came from Bengal were of his Stable, indeed from the account I have of them they are little better than tattoos. I have now only one possible chance of discovering whether Chevalier was with the party when it left Balisore or where he has taken up his residence if he came the length of Cuttack with them—and that is by gaining one of the servants in their suite. This would certainly be the most effectual manner of gaining authentick intelligence of him, but as it is the least likely to be attended with success, and as it is more than probable that the servant, either upon principles of fidelity or to gain credit with his present masters, will betray me to them and not them to me, and as they will by this means become acquainted with my designs and consequently be upon their Guard, I have deferred it to the last. I have now, however, directed a Manashee who is stationed here to attend the Dawke, and who appears to be a very intelligent and clever man to attempt one of the Peons, and shall in a few hours know the effect of his negotiation. I have in the meantime sent a message to the Nabob and Dewan informing them that I cannot wait upon them till the evening. As to the French Gentlemen being on their Guard it is of no further consequence than that Mr. Chevalier, if actually in Cuttack, would take more precaution to conceal himself. I can scarcely doubt from the striking resemblance there is between the description I remember to have heard of Mr. Chevalier's party before I left



Calcutta and of the party now at Cuttack, that he originally was in company with the two frenchmen who joined Mr. Sanson at Balisore, but I very much doubt his having ever come to Cuttack; if, however, he did, he is not now with them but is either gone forward or taken up his residence in some house where he has met with protection. When I have completed my enquiries, I am to decide what I shall do when I see the Nabob this evening, whether I shall obtain his permission to seize the three frenchmen which I should not do, I apprehend without some difficulty, as they have written to Nagpore in consequence of your Letter for Orders. In the meantime they promise that the three Gentlemen shall not be permitted to quit the Killah, in which the cutcherree is, till they receive an answer from Rajah Moodajee Bomslah. There is one very strong objection to my seizing them, which is the Difficulty or rather I should say the impossibility of sending them to Balisore, without a larger party of Sepoys than I have. Mr. Farquhar and myself, after we quitted our palankeens were frequently obliged to wade up to our middles and were once or twice apprehensive that we should have been under the necessity of swimming across the Nullahs. If I had been fortunate enough to seize Mr. Chevalier, I should have thought it worth while to write to Ganjam for a party of Sepoys and an officer, but for three poor wandering frenchmen it does not appear worth while to hold a long debate with the Nabob and Dewan to do what we have no right to expect they should do, to lose two or three days on my journey and to make an officer and party of Sepoys march from Ganjam to this place through the Mahrattah country. I shall, however, decide this point when my enquiries are completed and do myself the honor of addressing you by to-morrow's dawke.

I have the honor to be,

Hon'ble Sir,

Your most obedt.,

Most humble Servt.,

ALEX. ELLIOT.

No. IV.

Add: MSS. 29141, f. 193.

CUTTACK, 31st July 1778.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Dawke is this moment going out. I have scrolled you a long Letter with an official address that you may lay it before the Board if you think it of consequence enough or if it appears to have been expected that I should send you Chevalier from Cuttack,—I wish you would do it for the sake of my credit.

I have already delayed the Dawke half an hour already and must conclude.

Yours faithful Servt.,

A. ELLIOT.

No. V.

CUTTACK, the 2nd August 1778.

Add: MSS. 29141, f. 229.

Add: MSS. 29141, f. 212.

MY DEAR SIR,

I wrote you an account of all I had done about the French gentlemen the day before yesterday. My Publick Letter will inform you of the rest. The evidence of the Balisore Peons and Gaut Manjee has turned out to be better than that of the Hircarrabs I employed,



for Chevalier and his Coachman were two of the three Frenchmen in their own cloaths. Rajah Ram Pundit was more averse to the seizure than is expressed in my Publick Letter, and I have not effected it without disbursing Eight or Nine Thousand Rupees. Of this you shall have a more particular account. It must be carried to the head of secret service money. I have only had time to write you the Publick Letter which goes by this Dawke. To-morrow I will do myself the honor of addressing you more fully. Everybody in this Town appear clear of Rajah Moodagee's friendly inclinations towards you, and think I shall succeed in my negotiations, the nature of which they are very anxious to know. Hurdaram, the Dewan, is much the most sensible man here and high in favour at Nagpore. I have said tender things to him, and hope I have gained his friendship. The delay hurts me much but it is inevitable. I might as well travel over the deserts of Arabia without water as to Nagpore without all I take, and it cannot be done sooner. There is a ridiculous idea in Rajah Ram's little Durbar, which however I could wish had not existed even with them. It is that I am going to Nagpore to give back to Moodagee the Annual Choute. I hope this idea takes its rise in the ignorance of a provincial Council and that we shall hear nothing of it at the Sudder. They are all clear that I should get to Nagpore sooner by Chicacole than by Tonepore, but I have no passport and my instructions translated into Persian would not read well at Hyderabad.

I enclose you a Letter from Mr. Chevalier likewise one for Mrs. Chevalier which, I dare say and hope, will not be opened.

I have the honor to be,  
My Dear Sir,  
Your faithful Servt.,  
ALEX. ELLIOT.

No. VI.

CUTTACK, August 5th, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR,

You have received several Letters from me since my arrival here principally relating to Mr. Chevalier and his Companions. I shall close this subject for the present by informing you that they leave Cuttack to-morrow, and will probably be in Calcutta in a fortnight. I shall now inform you of what is more material and relates immediately to my Commission.

When I arrived here, I found that no one preparation had been made for my Journey by Rajah Ram Pundit or the Dewan. I was a good deal disappointed, but it was my business to make the best of things as they were without complaining of neglects which I could not remedy; and I entered into the subject on my second visit. They said that one hundred horse were absolutely necessary as the road was not without danger. It was held impossible to make the journey without tents for the Bearers, Servants and Coolies, as we should be three and four days without meeting with a village. An Oordoo\* or little Bazar was for the same reason necessary. I found them very backward for the two first days in determining what horse should accompany me. On the third my Munabee, who is a Hindoo, coming up, they sent for him and opened themselves more fully to him. They said they were ashamed to tell me their situation, but that they were at a loss how to act. That they had received Letters from you desiring them to send an Escort with me and to prepare Tents, etc.

\* *Oordoo-Urdû*, the Turki name for the Hindustani language, properly denotes the camp of a Tartar Khan, and is the same as our word "Hords." Hence Oordoo-bazar = Camp market.



That they had immediately written to Nagpore on the subject, but could not for a considerable time receive answers to their Letters. That I was arrived and pressed them to let me proceed, and that it was their desire to comply with my wishes; but that they were much afraid that they would find it very difficult to send any horse with me, without which, they thought it unsafe for Europeans to go that road. That they were without money, and that no Sowar would leave Orissa without having their arrears of pay discharged and an advance for four months; that they did not know how far Rajah Moodagee would approve of their sending his troops from Orissa at this time. They concluded, however, with sounding whether he knew whether it was expected that the Berar Government should pay the Troops that were to accompany me, or whether I would be at the expence. As soon as I heard what had passed between them and the Munashee, I sent him back to say at once that I would pay the hundred horse, if a hundred was necessary, and would purchase the tents which they had likewise mentioned, provided they would let me have them out of their stores ready made. When he informed them of this, they calculated the sum which was due to the horsemen for arrears of six months and an advance of four, and seemed, though with doubts, to imagine that I had agreed to pay it. This was such extortion and would have amounted to so large a sum, that it was entirely out of the question; and, without appearing to be angry, I told them that I was persuaded there was no danger on the road and that I was determined to hire twenty *Berkundasses* and proceed on the journey without troubling them for any escort. They seemed a good deal alarmed at this, and have sent me word that a Paghah or Sindar will wait upon me to-day, who is appointed to accompany me to Nagpore. They have not yet let me know how they mean me to settle with him, but I imagine that it will be expected that I shall pay him and his Troop during their services about my person. This I shall certainly agree to without the smallest hesitation—and I will oblige them to decide upon it this evening or will certainly set off with a few hired *Berkundasses*. I have since my arrival here had so many opportunities of observing their avidity for money that I cannot place their conduct in this business to any other account. I have been, however, a good deal alarmed by being told by a shroff that Rajah Ram Pundit said to the Treasurer that he would endeavour to delay our departure till Letters should be received on the subject of my Mission from Nagpore. I am now, however, very well convinced that, if he ever had such an idea, he has dropped it, and I promise myself that the longest stay we shall make here will be five days. I cannot, however, express to you how much this delay hurts me. The only comfort I have is that I am totally blameless, for have not since my arrival left anything undone which could be done to forward our journey. Our palankeens are not yet arrived though we have been here five days.

I have made every enquiry about the road, and I must not flatter you with hopes of our reaching Nagpore in less than five weeks after we leave Cuttack. A troop of horse left this last year precisely at this time of the year and waited on the banks of a Nullah six weeks, before it was fordable, by which means they did not reach Nagpore in less than three months. Last year, however, was most uncommonly rainy and such an accident is not to be apprehended in general.

I have this moment received your Letter of the 30th July and shall attend to the contents particularly about 448, but the words 39, 31, 78, 37, 48, 78 and 48, 79, 78, 44, 82, strike me as being 1708. 43, 40, 32, 34, 40, 32, 31. Suppose 70, 41: 1392, 1073 or 44, 48, 33, 39, 78, 34. 1232, before that 817, 70, 39, 34. 34, 41, 49, 42, 39, 78, 41, 34. 39, 31, 39, 32, 44—79, 37, or 1791, 39, 31, 39, 32, 44, 40, 44. Certainly 842. 1392 be 37, 41, 49, 79, 78, 34, 1194. 787 and I shall strictly attend to what you write.



I have established a correspondence with Ganjam that I may carry away the latest intelligence but they seem not well informed. I give you joy of Sullivan's being in the Direction. It looks well. No war declared the 13th of April, but I am told from Ganjam that it is inevitable. It is one month after Lord Stormont's return. This makes your situation unpleasant, but you have certainly acted right at least with the evidence before you. Pondicherry was not besieged on the 21st of July. I am sorry for it. Chevalier says the Garrison consists of 5,000 Europeans. He seems positive that D'Estaing is not coming to India. It would, he says, be contrary to every rule ever practised in the navy to permit so old an officer to come to India, and that France depending upon D'Estaing as the only great Sea Captain they have will never permit him to quit the European seas. I have not, however, a doubt of his coming. I hear nothing of a Commander-in-Chief but I suppose he is on Board Byron's fleet with the two Regiments. Chevalier was bound to Nagpore. He says that he had no idea of being able to form a political connection with Moodagee, but that at Nagpore he was in a central situation, and could have made his way to Pondicherry, the Coast of Malabar, etc., etc., as he please and as the news he should receive there might determine him. Upon my word, Sir, I think it is very lucky he is stopped. I know you always thought it of less consequence than I did, but a French army with a *European* Commander would benefit much by the experience and language of Chevalier; Perhaps all this is because I have had some little share in stopping him. If it is, I feel the effect without being able to discover the true cause.

I am distressed here about money; not foreseeing the expence I should be at I have not provided for it. I have wrote to Bogle on the subject.

You shall hear from me to-morrow or the day after as any thing occurs.

Chevalier and his Companions go without Officer or Guard. It is not possible to suspect a Governor of breach of parole, and he has given it to me in the most full and satisfactory manner. I wish I had taken some prisoners last war that I might have known on this occasion how to act according to Rule.

I intend in two days to address the Board in the style of a Phulsa report. I have received a Petition from a poor Devil who was sent to the Rajah of Coojong's country, and whose miserable situation appears to me a national reflection if I may use so lofty a term. He is imprisoned for life for having unfortunately been employed by Mr. Marriot to save the lives and property of some people, who were shipwrecked on this inhospitable Coast. You will be able, I think, to do him justice at little or no expence.

I have the honor to be,

Your faithful Servt.,

ALEX. ELLIOT.

No. VII.

THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL, etc., etc., etc.

Add. MSS. 29141, f. 245.

CUTTACK, the 8th August 1778.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have this moment received your letter of the 2d Instant to which I shall not reply as the Dawke is waiting and conveys I suspect news of too great moment to be delayed. I enclose an extract from my correspondent at Ganjam lest you should not have what it contains from Madras. I likewise enclose you another extract to me from some Gentleman which I received yesterday (No. 2). I imagine by the 17 he must mean of July though it appears to be June or else you must have had accounts of it before I left Calcutta. I have



wrote for a fuller explanation. They are the troops for whose passage St. L.\* applied to Goa. Chevalier left this yesterday. Your letter gives me reason to think that you will be pleased that he is made prisoner. He had asserted here that the French would have 40,000 men in the field in two months. I should I think have found him a disagreeable companion at Nagpore. I am happy Leslie has behaved so well at Chatterpore. I am half-distracted at my detention at this place, but there can not be a doubt of my going on Monday. I understand that a Vakeel from Ragonaut Row is expected at Mypore, but what is his name or Business no one here can inform me. Your preparation, and conduct in Bengal must do you honor with your Country. God grant the *Cormorant* has brought no bad news for you as Governor. A letter Bogle will write to me, and for the speedy dispatch of which I have provided, will inform me on this head. I do not fear for my negotiation with M. B.† The only apprehension I have is that he is not so strong in men and money as we think him.

I have the honor to be,  
Yr. faithful Servt.,  
A. ELLIOT.

No. VIII.

Add MSS. 29141, f. 247.

CUTTACK, 8th August 1778.

DEAR SIR,

You will receive with this Letter another with an Official address covering an account of presents for Nagpore. The sum disbursed upon this account amounts to Arcot Rupees 41,906 and I received from Johnson by Order from you 42,000 Siccas of Arcot Rupees—45,360 of which sum I am to pay back of course Arcot Rupees 5,454 to you as a publick man. I am likewise to pay to you for the Articles I got from you and which are included in the list as follows:—

1. Supech and Calghali	...	...	...	At Rs. 4,000
Instand for Dewan	...	...	...	" 1,000
A Box set with Diamonds	...	...	...	" 800
Arcot Rupees				5,800

As I do not know in what manner you keep your Accounts with Johnson but imagine it is possible that you may not chuse to have any of their accounts stand under the Head of Secret Service money, I have inclosed two orders on my Attornies in your favour—

One for At. Rupees	...	...	...	3,454
The other on your own Account	...	...	...	5,800

Making altogether ... At Rs. 9,254  
which entirely clears me both with the Company and you on account of the presents.

I have wrote a letter to Bogle on this subject, as he is my Attorney, which he will shew you. It is not easy to make the accounts perfectly clear.

I have the honor to be,  
Dear Sir,  
Yours faithfully,  
ALEX. ELLIOT.

\* Probably the Chevalier St. Lubin.  
Modaji Bhonsla, of Benar.



No. IX.

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Add: MSS. 29141, f. 264. [Also a copy at f. 266.]

NUGGUNABAD, the 10th August 1778.

DEAR SIR,

Rajah Ram Pundit is anxious that you should be informed of his wish to do every thing in his power which may forward your views, and particularly in what relates to my Mission to Nagpore. I wrote you before that I was disappointed in finding on my arrival here that nothing was prepared for my journey, but really, when I consider his situation and the difficulties he has in doing the most trifling piece of Business, I can not blame him; and I must say for him that he has been at very great trouble and exerted himself much since my arrival here. I could wish that you would if you think it proper write him a polite letter. He has likewise desired me to say that he hopes to be favoured with answers to any letters he may write you. Knowing how very good a Secretary you have in Sir Jo. D'Oyly, I have ventured to say that he may depend on answers with regularity. As I understand he means to send this letter to Bessumber Pundit, and therefore suppose you will not get it very soon, I shall only add that I am with the greatest respect,

Yr. ever faithful Servant,

ALEX. ELLIOT.

No. X.

Add: MSS. 29141, f. 274.

ON THE BANKS OF THE COTJURAH,  
August 11, 1778.

DEAR SIR

I can at last say that we are fairly on our journey though the place where we are at this moment is only two coss and a half from Cuttack, but tomorrow morning we shall begin upon our stated munsils, which would carry us according to our list to Nagpore in thirty-two days. I do not think it unlikely that we may perform the journey in twenty-seven or eight days. I do not at the same time think it impossible that we shall be upwards of forty. I wrote you a publick letter about coosids, which is a subject of consequence, and let me add the consolation of which no one knows better than yourself. I have only proposed twelve, but I wish when my Letter is read, that you would observe that twelve will not answer the intent proposed, *viz.*, that a dispatch should be sent from Cuttack every Saturday. Coosids must go in pairs and that would only allow of dispatches for six weeks, by which time the coosids who were dispatched the first week cannot be returned to Cuttack. Six more would answer exactly. The expence is trifling.

There has been very little rain lately, and the country which was deluged when we arrived is, now tolerably dry and very passable. We are however to expect rain, but I hope not so violent as it was before we reached Cuttack. At any rate, the nullahs will not swell for some days and as we advance the danger of floods diminishes.

The story of O.G. is a remarkable one and I am sincerely concerned at what you write on the subject. It must have struck you when you received a letter from me, the date of which I do not know, as it was a scroll of which I kept no copy, that it is not



impossible that the word *Choute* may be mentioned to me at Nagpore. If it is, I understand perfectly what is the line I am to observe, and shall not fail to act as you direct. But I trust too much to the good sense of Dequwar (*sic*) Pundit, which he is universally allowed to possess in an uncommon Degree, to apprehend that such a proposal will ever be made. As to the offers of the french they may make impression in a Mahrattah Court, but they amount to this. Knock that strong man on the head and I will take his cloaths and be generous enough to give you his hat. I have observed so much reasoning and even refinement of reasoning on political subjects in these people, that I am not much afraid of the consequences of the french offers. Yet I am sensible that the offers of supporting them in the immediate plunder of the *Paradise of Regions* and the fourth of its Revenues in future are tempting objects, however difficult the attainment of them may be; but I repeat that I think the proposal will be rejected without hesitation.

Every one here with whom I have conversed seem to be convinced that the first political object which the Berar Government have in view is an alliance with you, and I am highly pleased to find that the Pundits Beniram and Bussumber are held in great respect. I have before hinted to you the apprehension I have that their strength is not equal to our opinion of it as formed upon the information of the Vakeels. I by no means say that this is the case because I conversed with none who appeared to me capable of considering the state of a Nation, and the opinions of my informants of the situation of the Berar Government may be formed upon the miseries with which they see this province overwhelmed. Narduran is a sensible man, but for that very reason I have been able to get no satisfactory information from him. In general I am told that the whole amount of Moodagee's Revenues is between sixty and seventy Lacks of Rupees per annum; that the expences of collection, which are heavy, must be deducted from this Sum; that his standing Army does not amount to more than 15,000 Men. You are not unacquainted with the Division of the military force of Berar into regulars and militia or rather plunderers. Of the latter I have but a very bad opinion, of the 15,000 I will form none till I see them. Taylor says in his letter that the Troops of the Berar Govt. are the most respectable of any in the Empire both from their numbers and quality but it was a point of some moment to the argument he was supporting to think so. All through Orme's Book they are stated as the best Native Troops, but I believe Orme is wrong in saying that Morarow was the General of Ragoogee. Ragoogee was not however afraid to quarrel with Nizam ul Mulck when supported by Bussy and his Detachment of 600 Europeans. One thing I like much in Moodagee's character which is his great economy. He is represented to me as equally economical when he has money in hand as when without it. This makes me suspect that he is not in the distress for money which many here have assured me he is.

I have got a further explanation from my Ganjam Correspondent of the 500 Europeans who are said to have embarked at Pondicherree, from which I conclude that the number is exaggerated, and indeed, till I have some authentick information of it, I shall give no credit to it at all, as he says the Madrass Co. heard it on the 19th June. I think it impossible that they should have a moment delayed informing you of it and, I have letters from you of the August, in which you say nothing about it.

I beg that you will consider every thing I write which may appear to have any relation to my Commission as merely *chit chat*. You may be assured that whatever opinions I may form at this Distance from Nagpore shall make no Impression upon my mind, and that my conduct shall be formed upon [the] real state of affairs which I can only learn on the spot.



As to Mr's\* account of what is going on at Punnah, I can only say that great changes may happen, or perhaps have happened in which the English interests may or may not have been neglected, but at the distance you are from Punnah, you have nothing left for it in the present crisis, but to act or at least prepare to act as if every thing was quite in the domestic Government of the Brahmins, and as if they were, which I believe both Nannah and Moriabad are, hostilely inclined to the English. I dare say I shall find Letters from Mostyn for me at Nagpore, at any Rate I shall have Intelligence of 15 days date.

I have the honor to be,

My Dear Sir,  
Y. ever faithfull Servt.,  
ALEX. ELLIOT.

No. XII.

Add: MSS. 29141, f. 291.

CUTTACK, August 16th, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am this moment favoured with yours of the 8th instant. I am very happy to find that you approve of what was done about Chevalier. He will be with you in Calcutta before you receive this. The *Cormorant* you tell me was arrived and you are informed brings account of a *Peace*, but that you have no letters either from Madrass or Europe in Calcutta. I have heard however from Ganjam that she brings account that war was inevitable. But what convinces me of the certainty of war is that the french Chief was seized by order from Madrass at Masulapatan, and that Yanam was taken after the arrival of the *Cormorant*. You would probably receive the dispatches she brought the day after the date of your letter to me.

We go on very slowly indeed. Five coss a day: the coss here are upwards of three miles. The weather has been fair and promises to hold up in appearance, but we are promised that after passing the gant of Bermahle, which we shall do in three days, that our Murals shall be much longer, but I am sorry to tell you that I foresee a long Journey. Promises of presents, insinuations of displeasure seem to be equally disregarded by the Sirdar who accompanies us; and you know what delays a Native in whose hands you are can contrive to make. Letters were dispatched to the Rajah of Summoospore immediately on my arrival at Cuttack, to which I am informed now that no answer was received, and that we cannot proceed through his Country without some assurances of his protection. A man was dispatched to him this morning, and, as we are yet four days march at the rate we travel from his Country, I am yet hopeful that we shall meet with no delay, and that this is only mentioned to make a little more expence necessary.

I shall be obliged to you to consider the following query as of more consequence than the rest of the letter and answer it in your next dispatch. I am informed that Moodagy has about 25 Europeans in his service, but I conclude from the account I have of their allowances, that they must be low people probably deserters. Some receive sixty Rupees, some forty and some thirty per month. Should I make a serious affair of this, if they turn out to be French and desire their dismissal or should I consider them as beneath my notice? I think the latter, unless I should upon feeling the ground find myself sure of succeeding, and then it will be better to send them to Leslie than not. If they are of

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Probably denotes Mr. Mostyn; the Agent of the Bombay Government at Poona.



any other country but France, they may perhaps be made of service about his Artillery. Your answer to this will probably reach me before I get to Nagpore or very soon after my arrival. Two Europeans left Cuttack about ten weeks ago for Nagpore in pallankeens, had nearly been plundered on the Road, and were released by one of Moodadge's Officers who arrived time enough to save them. Their arrival at Nagpore has never been heard of. Mr. Chevalier told me their names, one was a Marquis of something, a Venetian by birth, the other is represented by Mr. Chevalier as a French Gentleman. He says the latter resolved to cross the Peninsula by land, and to serve any Prince who should make good offers. The other *viz.* the Venetian is a Nobleman of good fortune, but from an unaccountable desire to travel, came to India and resolved through friendship and from curiosity to accompany the frenchman, intending to find his way to some part of the Western Coast and embark for Europe. The Italian is esteemed a man of great knowledge—I mean *un homme de beaucoup d'esprit*. I before mentioned to you my suspicions that the march of our Detachment was the occasion of their journey; I cannot yet help thinking it probable that this is the case, and D's\* intercepted Letter to Chevalier in which he seems so sensible of the consequences of an alliance with Berar strengthens my suspicion. Chevalier's account of them is not satisfactory. I should however doubt that they have either been made prisoners or cut off on the road, or else they must have been heard of before this. The imperfect information I was able to obtain of these Gentlemen made it unnecessary for me to tell you their story in a formal manner. I mention it now as in the course of conversation or of correspondence, which I consider as the same thing, as you may perceive from the undigested scrolls I send you.

I shall have no opportunity of writing to you again for these ten days which I mention that you may not be uneasy at my silence. I shall probably despatch a cossid from Sonapore or some place near it.

My companion, Farquhar, who was very ill when we left Cuttack, is quite recovered. It gives me great satisfaction for I should certainly have parted with him had he been unable to proceed. It would have been disagreeable but public duty would have made it necessary. I am very uneasy at the reflection that Leslie is probably inactive waiting my arrival. Was it not for my anxiety to get on our journey is really romantick and pleasant.

Will you be so good as to make your Munshes always write my name in Persian on the cover of your Letters to me.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your ever faithful and  
devoted Servant,

ALEX. ELLIOT.

No. XIII.

THE HONBLE WARREN HASTINGS,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Add. MSS. 29141, f. 391.

BADA, the 12th August 1778.

MY DEAR SIR,

I wrote to you from Cuttack and told you that I should not again write for ten days. Finding however that the soobahdnt who accompanies [us] is to send away a boat to

\*B. Monsieur Bellocumbe "Chief of all the French establishments in India." Surrendered Pondichery to Major-General Munro, October 11th, 1778.



Cuttack to night, I have thought it worth while to tell you that we are thus far on our journey. We have found the Country people very inoffensive, and have nothing more troublesome in them than a violent curiosity of seeing Fringees which we have indulged them in as much as they pleased. We have passed the Gant of Namahle which is a pass I believe to be impassable if opposition is made. I was much afraid of bad weather till we had got through this place. I do not think we should have been able to make our passage good had very violent rains fallen. We have been fortunate enough as yet to have very fine weather. A cooling shower falls in the evening and rest of the day is fine. We have not yet received any permission from the Rajah of Sumbelpore to pass through his Country which I am not much pleased with. Nay I must not conceal from you that we have been told in this place that the Dewan Akhes, who has usurped the Government and rules in the name of his Master, who is in Confinement, has collected all his People and has said that he will not consent to our passing through his Country. I very much doubt the truth of this Report, but, at any rate, do not doubt that the moment he receives Rajah Ram Pundit's and Mudarn's letters, he will alter his conduct if it really should be as we are told here it is. Our Jassoor or Hircarrakhs, whom we dispatched from Cuttack, only left this this morning, and I fear we shall be obliged to stop two days at Sonapore for the Rajah passports. We have only sixteen horsemen with us, which I am sorry to mention to you, as I really do not think it Rajah Ram Pundit's fault, and I fear it may appear so to you. He appeared to me to have no command over his people, and he certainly ordered so to come with us which, however, they contrived to avoid. Do not be the least uneasy about this story of the Rajah of Sumbelpore. We do not run the smallest risk for the road is a high road, and no such a thing is known as any outrage having been committed on it, and we shall not quit the Raad Country till we have passports from Akbar. I am very well persuaded that Akbar has not received any Accounts of us *officially*, and that the moment he receives the letters he will order the people he has collected to disperse. The Sindar, who is with us, is a very prudent good man, and well known all through this Country. The two Frenchmen or rather the Frenchman and Italian mentioned to you in my last are we are told arrived at Nagpore.

I am waiting with impatience for letters from Calcutta which I daily expect, in consequence of a letter I wrote to Bogle directing him how to forward a packet to me. I wait with impatience because your next Letters must be dated after your Receipt of the Compy's Dispatches by the *Cormorant*, which must I think clear up two very material points Peace or War, and your future fortunes. I learnt from Ganjam that Clavering's death was known, but the effect of the news of it in England was wholly unknown to my correspondent there.

I have honor to be,

My Dear Sir,

Your ever faithful Servt.,

ALEX. ELLIOT.

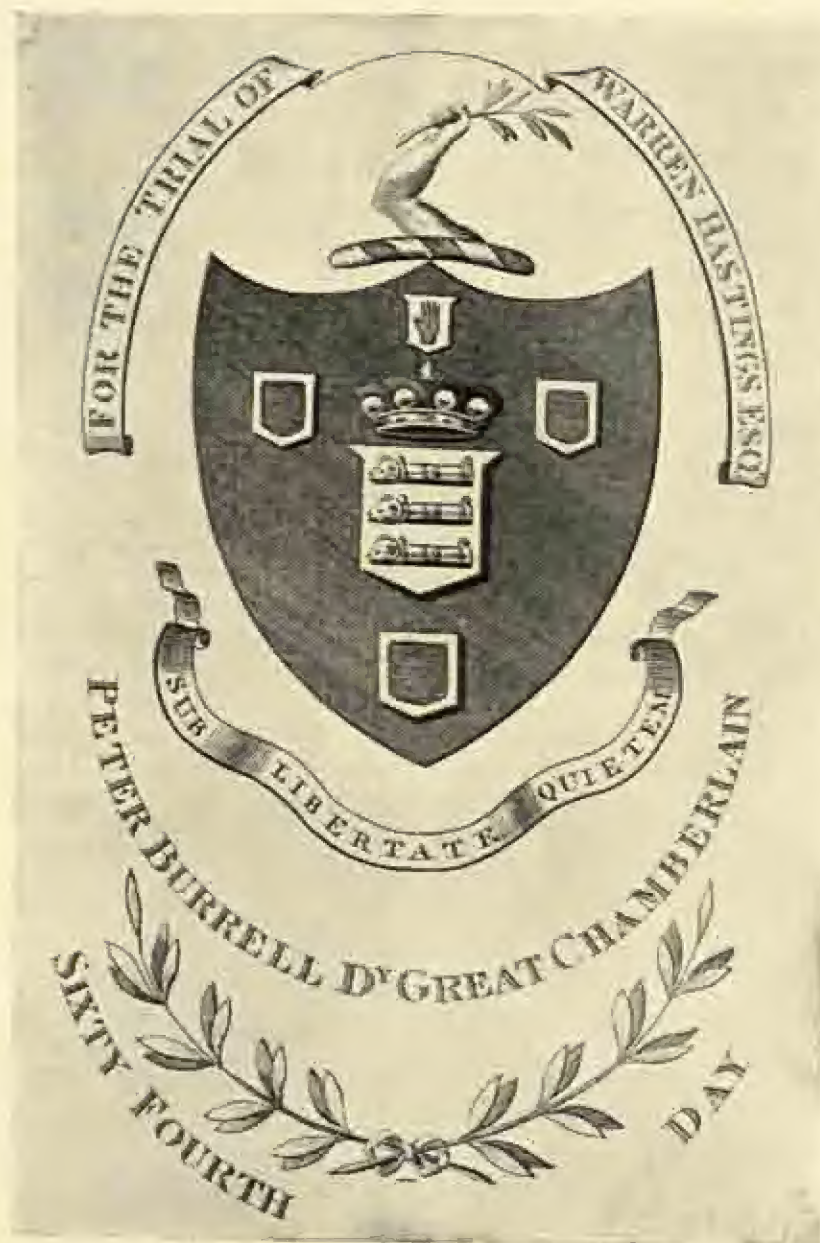
No. XIV.

SAT. NIGHT, the 21st Augt.

P.S.—I have this moment received your Letter of 10 and 12 and the Board's very handsome Letter of the 10. I am ashamed it is so much more than I deserve, I return you ten thousand thanks for it. I have not yet decyphered your Letters, they are in the Rooke [? Rook] cypher and will take time, so I shall defer answering them till I get to Sonapore which will probably be the day after to morrow.

A. E.





A TICKET OF ADMISSION TO THE TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS.











## No. XIV.

Add. MSS. 29141, f. 346.

COLLIFORNER, the 30th Aug. 1778.

MY DEAR SIR,

We have contrived to avoid the intended interview with Akbar, which I told you in my last, his Vakeels had in a manner insisted upon. We have, however, been carried out of our road; as we went within six coss of Sumboolpore, I sent the Dewan some presents, and, by making the two Vakeels handsomer presents than they would have had had, we gone to Sumboolpore, we carried our point. Our pagthi has been obliged to go, and I think it more than probable that we shall be under the necessity of waiting a day for him. I must own to you I was not quite easy about the Dewan's intentions. He never would have thought of offering any violence but the visit might have occasioned great delays.

About an hour ago we met twelve cossids sent by Rajah Moodagee to meet me. They had no letter for me, but are charged with dispatches for Rajah R. Pandit. These cossids left Naguapore 16 days ago, and inform me that the Rajah and Dewan had received your letters informing them of my appointment, etc. That the Dewan is particularly anxious for my arrival and, that we shall meet other cossids as we advance, etc. They know nothing about the Detachment, but one of them says he heard of it at Chutterpore. Unless we meet cossids on the road going towards Cuttack, you certainly will not hear anything of us these ten days to come. We have quitted the Mahah Nudda, on which Boats are constantly going down.

I am, My Dear Sir,

Your most faithful Servt.,

ALEX. ELLIOT.

The cossids give such an account of roads and nullahs across which they swim, that I remain in the opinion, that we shall yet be 5 weeks in performing our journey.

Add. MSS. 29141, f. 393.

## No. XV.

[A copy also appears at F. 383.]

HON'BLE SIR,

Mr. Farquhar, who in his younger days was bred to Physick, has informed the Board and you of the state of my health: I can only say that I do not believe it possible for me to reach Nagpore in less than 9 or 10 weeks. I shall not conceal from you that I very much doubt whether I am likely to reach it at all. In this situation I have exerted myself to tell you to use some other means of effecting your purposes in the Maharatta Country and take off the Bar which entirely prevents your Detachment from acting: to do this I think it may be absolutely necessary to revoke my appointment, let no consideration for me prevent this, for I assure you it will at present be personally agreeable to me.

I hope you will receive this Letter in 13 days, and in case you should revoke my appointment, I request you will write to me immediately; but as I do not think the cossids who are under the orders of the Munshee who manages the Dawke at Cuttack sufficiently safe nor so expeditious as those of Government, I beg you will enclose your Letters to Rajah Ram Pandit requesting of him to forward them to me at Sarangur in the most expeditious manner.

I remain,

Hon'ble Sir,

Your faithful Servant,

(Signed) ALEXR. ELLIOT

9th September 1778.



## No. XVI.

(Addressed to :—) THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS.

Mss. MSS. 29141. l. 395.

HON'BLE SIR,

Mr. Elliot this morning with great difficulty dictated a few lines to you which I enclose, and I shall now endeavour to give you a true account of what he has suffered since the commencement of his present severe and dangerous illness, and such other circumstances as appear to me to have contributed to bring on his disorder. On the 30th August he wrote you from Calpannee. During the three following days we had much rain, and made very short journeys, in order that the Commander of our very small escort, who had gone to Sumboolpore, might overtake us. On the 3rd Instant we were stopped at Byledee by a nullah swelled to the size of a large river, over which there were no boats, we had violent rain which soon rendered the place where we were encamped a perfect swamp. On the 4th in the morning Mr. Elliot complained of bile in his stomach. We removed about noon to a higher ground and he took a common dose of Salts and Manna, from which he had on former occasions found benefit:—it had no effect and he had a good deal of fever during the night. The next morning he took another dose of Physic which eased him considerably of his Fever and carried off much black and putrid Bile: in the afternoon the Nullah fell, and he exerted himself to get across as there was a probability of more rain, and that it would soon again be impassable. We remained that night on a rising ground near the Nullah: there was much thunder and rain during the night and next morning we found ourselves surrounded by water. Mr. Elliot had a good deal of fever in the morning with a return of the uneasy sensation at his stomach, and took a vomit of Emetic Tartar, which worked brakiely but did not entirely remove his fever. He thought himself rather easier, however, and in the evening, the water which surrounded us becoming fordable, we removed to a dry ground about two miles distant, hoping that the next day we should be able to reach Sarangur a large Village, which was then about 6 Coss from us, and where we expected to get better accommodation till Mr. Elliot should get the better of his indisposition. He had much fever during the night, complained of uneasiness about the region of the liver, and drank plentifully of diluting liquors. He continued exceedingly anxious to get forward to Sarangur, and on the 7th we passed a ridge of high hills by a very ragged road, and after travelling about 4 coss we were again stopped by a large nullah about 1 coss from Sarangur, on the Banks of which we still remain. Mr. Elliot's fever was much increased by the journey, and the pain in his liver was also increased. I began to be much alarmed, and chiefly at his own fears which from the beginning were very great. He informed me that his feelings were the same as on a former occasion when he had the liver at Madras. I gave him some nitre and creme of Tartar in his drink, and in the evening took about 7 ounces of blood from him. I was afraid that a larger quantity might do harm, for, though he had much feverish heat, his pulse was not full. During the night he perspired a little, and I gave him several cooling injections with which he passed much bile of a black colour and bad smell. Yesterday he had rather less fever but was much dejected, and his mind constantly agitated about public business. I fomented his side several times during the day with warm water, gave him cooling injections, and gave him at different times a cooling draught the same as what he had got from Mr. Pастey in a like situation and which I think eased the pain in his liver:—sometimes his pulse was low, so much so that I was obliged to support him by adding a little wine to his drink. He has insisted on the application of mercury, he says he



knows it is his only chance, and I have three times after the fomentation rubbed a small quantity into the part and given him a few mercurial pills. He bears his situation with the utmost fortitude and resignation; he has had an easier night than I expected, but has hardly closed his eye since he was taken ill. I have now, Sir, explained to you Mr. Elliot's situation as well as I am able, and I have done it in this circumstantial manner as I think it will be more agreeable to you than if I had been more concise. My anxiety, my fears are inexpressible, God alone knows what will be the event; our accommodation is wretched, we have no shelter but two very bad tents, and the rain is followed by excessive heat. Mr. Anderson or I have been constantly by him since he was taken ill, and have done all in our power—it is a cruel and a melancholy situation, I still hope, but I cannot, nor I must not, flatter you. I shall soon again dispatch another express cossid, and as I do the present with promises of rewards if they arrive soon at Cuttack. God grant that I may be able to send you good accounts. Mr. Elliot desired me also to send a few lines to the Supreme Council, which I have done accordingly, and enclose my Letter that you may do with it as you think proper.

Captain Campbell is also very much indisposed, his Complaints are of the same kind as those of Mr. Elliot.

On the Banks of a Nullah }  
2 Coss to the Eastward of }  
Sarangur, 9th September 1778. }

I have the honor to be,  
Hon'ble Sir,  
Your most obedient  
and most humble Servant,  
ROBT. FARQUHAR

P. S.—You must not be surprised if this Letter is longer of reaching you than the time mentioned in Mr. Elliot's Letter, as it is impossible for the Jassoses to go from hence to Cuttack in less than 10 days.

#### NO. XVII.

Add. MSS. 29145, l. 403.

On the Banks of a Nullah 2 Coss }  
to the Eastward of Sarangur, }  
13th September 1778. }

HON'BLE SIR,

What I so much feared is come to pass, the scene is now closed, and Mr. Elliot, after a severe and painful struggle, has surrendered his soul into the hands of the Almighty. From the time I wrote you on the 9th he had hardly any remission of his illness; in the forenoon of that day he grew delirious, and passed much black bile; about 12 at night he recovered his senses perfectly, and sent for Mr. Anderson and me, he said he was convinced his disorder was putrid and was anxious to make another effort to overcome it. Several medicines were mentioned, he determined on James' Powder and said that Doctor Francis had cured him once at Calcutta of a Disorder of the same nature with that medicine, after having tried Mercury and the Bark without effect. He took five grains at that time and repeated the dose in about 2 hours. He continued quiet during the night, passed a little of the same ill-coloured Bile, and perspired a good deal towards morning when he began to think himself easier. This renewed our hopes, but alas! they soon vanished, when the heat of the day began his Delirium returned with redoubled violence, he thought of nothing but publick business; and his mind was filled with the most dreadful apprehensions. We endeavoured to keep him as quiet as possible, bathing his feet and side in warm water sometimes gave him a momentary relief, and the injections never



failed to bring away much Bile, but no favorable symptoms appeared. While Mr. Elliot was sensible, I was happy to try any Medicine from which he had found benefit on former occasions, but when in this situation, perfectly unacquainted as I am with the disorders of this Country, and never having followed the study of Physick but a few Months about six years ago (which gave rise to the first paragraph of Mr. Elliot's last letter) my reason did not approve of my attempting any other remedy. He continued to drink plentifully of diluting liquors mixed with the juice of Limes, and on the 11th in the morning we removed him into a house which Mr. Anderson with much trouble had got erected by a few of our attendants. He continued much in the same way till about 12 o'clock yesterday, when he became very low, and in the evening his Friends and Society sustained an irreparable loss, and the Publick lost a most faithful and valuable servant; after beholding so long the most melancholy scene of woe, we were satisfied to see the most amiable of characters relieved from his sufferings. He died about 8 o'clock. On the 8th Instant he desired that your Orders and Instructions should be sealed up immediately after his Death which has already been done in presence of Mr. Anderson. My mind is at present too much agitated to be able to write you more fully—we find it necessary to proceed to Sarangur, from which place I shall again have the honor to address you in two days.

I remain with perfect respect,

Hon'ble Sir,

Your most obedient

and most humble Servant,

ROBT. FARQUHAR,

Captain Campbell is much better.

So passed Alexander Elliot away from the scenes of his unwearied service. "It is a far, far better thing that I do than I have ever done; it is a far better rest that I go to than I have ever known." Bogle, famous for his Tibetan expeditions, wrote: "I cannot pass over the name of poor Elliot without a heavy heart. I never had, never can have, so strong an esteem—I should say veneration—for any one as I had for him, and I was happy beyond every one in his friendship. I had not a thought I concealed from him, he had none that he concealed from me. But alas! he has gone for ever!" No not "for ever." On 3rd April 1781, scarcely two and a half years after his friend's death, George Bogle too passed to his rest.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.





# The Earliest Recorded Episcopal Visitation of Bengal, 1712=1715.



THE following letter is translated from Vol. XIII of the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* published on behalf of the Society of Jesus. [Nouvelle Edition, Paris, 1781, pp. 262-295.] It is hoped that the publication of this translation will be a first step towards reproducing in *Bengal: Past and Present* a collection of accounts (other than those accessible in reprints such as those of the Hakluyt Society) of Bengal given in the writings of the Christian missionaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I must give expression to my deep gratitude to the Rev. H. Hosten S. J. for his kindness in revising my translation, and for the valuable notes he has added as an appendix.

This letter makes it clear that the great missionary Bishop, Father Francis Laynez, died and was buried at the Jesuit Mission near to Bandel. The site of the old Jesuit College is shewn very clearly in the map-plan of "Hughli Bandar," taken from Father Tieffentaler's *Description de l'Inde*, which for the convenience of the reader we print once again on the opposite page. It may well be suggested that some monument should be erected at Bandel to the memory of a man so great as Bishop Laynez.

Father Barbier speaks of Dacca as the capital of Bengal, but nearly ten years before his visit the glory had passed from Dacca. In 1702 the Dewan, Murshid Kuli Khan, had left to build up a future capital at a place soon to bear his own name—Murshidabad, and when Aurungzeb recalled his viceroy, Azimu'sh-Shān, Dacca remained no longer a city of the first importance in the Mogul Empire.

W. K. F.

MY REVEREND FATHER,  
*The Peace of Our Lord.*

AT PINNEPOND, IN THE MISSION  
OF THE CARNATIC.

*This 15th January 1723.*

When God had called to Himself Monseigneur, our Bishop, the Rev. Father Francis Laynez, I had the honour of acquainting you with some



circumstances of his holy death. You took care to render them public in the collection of *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*: after which, you told me that I would oblige you by communicating to you some details [263]\* of the journey which I had made with that worthy Prelate, when I accompanied him in the visitation of his Diocese, which comprehends all the provinces from Cape Comorin to the borders of China. I do so, the more willingly, my Reverend Father, in that I have always in mind the zeal of this holy Bishop, who looked on his dignity as but a new obligation to fulfil with greater *élat* the duties of a missionary, which he had performed close on twenty-five years.

He had been sent to Portugal in the year 1705 on certain affairs concerning the welfare of this Mission. On his arrival he learned that he had been nominated Bishop of Saint Thomé: this was for him a very palpable blow: he made every effort to have this destination altered, and for a long time he declined to accept it; but the King of Portugal, who had formed a high idea of his personality and merit, persisted in his choice; his Majesty re-iterated his instances with our Holy Father, Pope Clement XI, and so it was necessary that even the religious humility of the Father should yield at last to obedience. He was consecrated at Lisbon by the Great Almoner of Portugal. He embarked [264] almost at once; but the ship's journey was long, and he was not able to take possession of his see until the year 1710.

At once he took into contemplation the visitation of this vast Diocese. He commenced with a visitation of Coromandel Coast, where he experienced great contradictions. This is in ordinary the lot of zeal and virtue, but his courage led him to overcome everything which opposed itself to the establishing of God's work. When he had finished this visitation, the Missionaries of Madura invited him to penetrate into the interior, in order to administer there the Sacrament of Confirmation. He was master of the language of the country: he was familiar with the customs of the people. This circumstance gave him an advantage that no other Prelate could have.

He spent three months in this holy ministry, and comforted all that Christianity [in the sense, of "all that Christian community," the whole of that Mission] by his presence. Having returned to the coast, he made preparations to set out to the Kingdom of Bengal. It was then that, as he asked for a missionary to accompany him in his apostolical course, I was designated by my superior, and I went on board with him.

The country of Bengal, situated at the back of the gulf which bears its name, is, as it were, the cradle of all Indian superstitions. [265] We are always hearing of a celebrated academy at *Nudia*, where a large number of

\* The numbers in square brackets represent the pages of Vol. xiii. of the *Lettres E. et C.*



Brahmins occupy themselves with accrediting the ridiculous system of their religion. You may well believe that the demon beheld with no tranquillity the fruits which were bound to arise from the coming of this Prelate amongst Christians, who, until now, had never seen their Bishop: thus he had to suffer from many obstacles in all that he undertook for the welfare of souls.

During eight days of sailing, since our departure from *Madrasspatan*, we skirted the coast of Coromandel and *Orian* [Orissa], about 250 leagues; and on the 9th of June of the year 1712, we found ourselves in the roads of *Balassor* [Balasore], at the mouth of the Ganges. Here, we were greeted by a violent tempest. The thunder fell upon our ship; the foremast burst into splinters and broke into a thousand pieces; two men were cast down stone dead; ten or twelve others remained for some time stretched on the deck; two or three lost for some days the use of their sight: the terror and panic were general. I, for my part, experienced visibly how on these kinds of occasions God [266] fortifies a missionary. A sign of the Cross, which I made to commend myself to Our Lord, placed me in a state to go without the least fear from the ship's head to the stern to assist these poor folks. It was not till the evening that I felt all that can be imagined of human weakness; never was night so painful for me.

From this road it is usual to send on shore to find a coasting pilot in order to traverse with the tide the sandbanks which close the Ganges. While someone went to look for the pilot, the heavens were again lowering and threatened us with a tempest even more dangerous.

"Let us pray to God," the Captain then said to me, "we don't know what He has in store for us." We all set ourselves to prayer, and the Prelate gave the blessing. In a moment, the cloud divided itself, passing to the right and left of the vessel, and but for a few drops of rain we were quit of it.

After our escape from this danger, we ascended the river about sixty leagues. For the first twenty we passed through vast forests: then was revealed a fairly well populated country. The Europeans of different nationalities have fitted up various spots proper [267] to receive the ships. The meeting of the rivers brings together, in different places, a fair number of boats which serve for commerce. *Coulpy*<sup>1</sup> is a fairly good anchoring-place. The French and English ships usually stay here. The Dutch go up as high as *Folta*,<sup>2</sup> five leagues above. The one and the other as well as the Danes and the Portuguese, when the season and the current permit, take their ships right up to alongside their factories.

We were in an Armenian ship, freighted by the Company of France, and commanded by M. Boutet, late an officer of the same Company. The tide

<sup>1</sup> Colpi.

<sup>2</sup> Fulta.



bore us upward, and the wind drove us back, so that, keeping only one sail to guide by, the vessel went backward, and followed the course of the current. But at a bend we found ourselves driven into a creek; to avoid it an anchor was cast, but it did not grapple, and the ship drew near the land and went aground. The declivity was so sudden in this spot, that on one side of the ship there was but a fathom and a half water and on the other we paid out six fathoms of cord. The sea sank, and we were in danger of perishing. [268] Everything that art can suggest in such circumstances was at once set in hand. God blessed our labours. Thanks to a cable fixed to the shore which held the head of the mast, the ship slipped off through the slime, and found herself afloat before the end of the tide. After which she brought herself up on another anchor, which had been placed in the middle of the river.

It was then that we abandoned our ship to go on board a *Baceras*,<sup>1</sup> (that is a bark of this country which, according to its size, requires from six to forty rowers, with one or two cabins on the stern). This manner of navigation is absolutely necessary on the Ganges, on account of the floods which come regularly in certain months of the year, and then form a prodigious multitude of waterways which intersect all the country. The *Baceras* was sent by Mr. Rouxel,<sup>2</sup> a relative of the Admiral of that name,<sup>3</sup> and Governor of *Callicuta* [Calcutta], which is one of the most celebrated colonies that the English Company possesses in the Indies. One sees there a church open to Catholics, which was built before the English gave to this settlement the form [269] of a town.<sup>4</sup> It is served, as all those of Bengal are, by a Rev Augustinian Father. It is to these Fathers that the King of Portugal has confided the charge of these Christianities. The Popes have accorded to this Prince, as Grand Master of the Order of Christ, the nomination to all the benefices of the Indies.

We set foot ashore, and Monsieur Rouxel, although a Protestant, evinced, by a salvo of artillery and other marks of honour, the consideration and

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, a *Indigeroe*. See the interesting note in *Hobson Jobson*.

<sup>2</sup> Rouxel, *i.e.*, Sir John Russell, Governor of Fort William, 1711-13, a son of Frances, daughter of Oliver Cromwell. His wife died at Chandernagor shortly after Bishop Layner's visit to that place.

<sup>3</sup> This is not borne out by the pedigree of the Russell family given in Wilson's *English in Bengal*, Vol. II, pt. 1.

<sup>4</sup> This seems to be a mistake. In 1693 Sir John Goldsborough demolished what he calls the "Mass House," and this appears to have been erected in Charnock's time somewhere near the site on which the first English Fort William was to be erected. Long in an article on the "Portuguese in North India" in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. V, p. 252, writes: "Mrs. Teuch had a brick building erected at her own expense in 1700." After the event of 1756 the Portuguese clergy were expelled from the settlement and their church was used for Anglican services. But this church was not built before 1740.



respect he had for the Prelate. The day following we transferred ourselves to the *Baseras* of the Company of France. Father Tachard<sup>4</sup> and an officer sent by M. d'Hardancourt had come to meet the Bishop. We passed up five leagues higher to *Chandernagor*, the Factory of the Company. The Prelate, after having passed through the Government,<sup>5</sup> and there received the honours due to his character, came to reside at our house;<sup>6</sup> but he only remained there three days, and he betook himself next to the Convent of the Rev. Augustinian Fathers,<sup>7</sup> which is two leagues higher up in the *Bandel* or habitation of the Portuguese. There is there a College<sup>8</sup> of our [270] Society which is dependent on the Province of Malabar.

As this church is the mother of all the other churches in Bengal,<sup>10</sup> the design of Monseigneur, the Bishop, was to obtain there the necessary information for the rest of his visitation. He sojourned there three months, but his duties were much interrupted by the war which broke out between a Moorish chief and the Governor of the fortress of *Ougli* [Hughli],<sup>11</sup> a dependency of the Mogol, which is only distant a quarter of a league. This propinquity

<sup>4</sup> Father Tachard was the author of the *Voyage de Siam des Pères Jésuites* (1686).

<sup>5</sup> Government-House; Hôtel de Ville?

<sup>6</sup> The site of this house is marked in the plan given in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II, pt. II (as bound) facing p. 374. It was on the north side of the *Lal Dighi*.

<sup>7</sup> This convent is, of course, the existing buildings attached to the Church.

<sup>8</sup> The House of the Jesuits at *Bandel* is shown in the picture plan in Tieleman's *Description de l'Inde*.

<sup>10</sup> Beveridge in his work *The District of Bâkarganj* (p. 33) writes:—"From the work of Pierre du Jarric, who was also a Jesuit, and who wrote a book entitled '*Histoire des Choses plus mémorables advenues tant en l'Inde Orientale que autres Pays de la Découverte des Portugais*' (Bordeaux, 1608), we learn that *Candêca* was the first church in Bengal, *Chittagong* the second, and *Bandel* the third. He adds that the latter was built by Diego Nugas de Villalobos, and that it was finer than that of *Chittagong*." The Portuguese Mission at *Candêca* seems to have terminated with the murder of the Commandant, Carvalho, in 1602, when the four priests, resident in what is now the *Bâkarganj* District, were recalled. The original Augustinian Church at *Bandel* was destroyed in 1632, but a tablet bearing the date of its erection 1599 has been built into the present Church, which was erected in 1661 by Gomes de Soto.

<sup>11</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford has enumerated about twenty-seven variations of this place-name. *Vide Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II, pp. 298-299. Another variation occurs in the *Storia de Mogor*. There is a tablet in the Church at *Bandel* inscribed:

Este Altar  
Do Convento d'Ugolys  
He  
Privilegiado ao Saluado  
Pelto Sumo Pontifice  
Benedicto XII  
Anno de MDCCXXVI.

Stewart (*History of Bengal*, p. 153, Edn. 1847) states "that the name of *Hughli* is never mentioned in *Paulo de Souza's History of the Portuguese*, although he acknowledges they lost a large town in Bengal in the year 1633 which he calls *Gollin*." The name *Bandel* represents the "*bandas*" or quay



compelled the Christians to be incessantly on their guard and to convert their settlement into a sort of armed place: and this did not allow them the liberty and freedom to repair to the church to listen to the instruction of their Prelate.

He returned to *Chandernagor*. There it was necessary for us to pay the tribute which new arrivals pay to Bengal, that is to say, that for four months, out of the twenty persons we numbered in the house, there were always four or five dangerously ill. Father Tachard was the first attacked, and died after a month of sickness; I was not more exempt than the others: then the Bishop had his turn, and we were in fear that we might lose him. The fifth [271] return of fever placed him in extreme danger. As we found ourselves many priests in his ante-room, we each promised to say several masses for his recovery. God gave heed to our vows, and he was alleviated in a moment. Three heavy hours of a violent shivering promised at least a fit of thirty hours; however, at the end of an hour or two, the Prelate found himself without fever, and the return diminished daily. In a short time he was restored. During his sickness, he thought only of the means of penetrating into the interior so as to leave behind no place which he had not himself visited. To this end he went down along the Ganges about forty leagues, and took the route of *Chatigan* [Chittagong] about the middle of January 1713.

Before giving you a description of this country, it is well to tell you, my Reverend Father, that it is necessary to distinguish three different kinds of Christianities in Bengal. The first is composed of Europeans of different nationalities, who have established factories there. In those factories reside their agents, their servants and others who have ranged themselves under their flag. They are established along the principal [272] bed of the Ganges, which flows beneath the foot of the fortress of *Ougli*.

The second is formed by the Mogol himself. This prince, in order to protect his frontiers against the invasion of his neighbours, and to keep in respect the peoples newly conquered, in addition to the Moorish garrison he has stationed in his fortresses, has sought to have also a garrison of *gens à chapeau*<sup>12</sup> in the surrounding places (for it is thus he designates some Portuguese anciently come from Goa, whom he has enlisted and attached to his service.) As they have multiplied to infinity, this Christianity has

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of Portuguese Ugolyn or Haghli. A description of the English Factory (not Charnock's but the Rival Company's) in 1712 by an adventurer named Willock will be found in Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. II, pp. 355-6. In 1717 it was in danger of being washed away by the River. See below "exiles from" the Editor's Note Book."

<sup>12</sup> *Gens à chapeau*.—*Topaz*, *topaze*, or *Topiwala*. Another derivation of *topaz* is given to *Moham Jolian*—a corruption of Persian (from Turkish) *top-âzi*, a gunner.



become very numerous at *Ougly, Pipli, Chatigan, Dacca, Ossumpur, Rangamaty* and elsewhere; and this large number of Christians is comprised under the name of *gens à chapeau*; not that they all wear one, for it is only the chief of each family who makes use of it, and then only on the great festivals, but this is the name which is given them.

Lastly, a number of infidels, converted by the zeal of the missionaries and their catechists, and spread in different settlements, form the third kind of Christianity.

[273]. *Chatigan* is one of these Christianities, the most numerous, as much on account of the goodness of the climate, where it is rare that one falls ill, as on account of the necessity the Mogol is under of protecting himself, on that side, against the irruption of the peoples of *Aracan* and *Paga* by whom it is bounded. It is this which led the Prelate to commence his visitation by that place.

To reach the place we had to follow a wearisome route. Eight whole days, although they rowed eighteen hours each day, and the current and often the tide were favourable, scarcely sufficed to enable us to find a settlement. All that time, we beheld only thick woods, the arms of rivers by which the Ganges disgorges itself, of often prodigious an extent, and often so narrow that it was possible to row on one side only. The banks [were] lined with great trees whose branches project far into the water; and above all [we were in] continual dread of tigers, whose vestiges we saw from time to time by stakes planted at spots where people had been devoured on land or even carried off from their boats. In the water are found crocodiles [274] twenty feet long, who devour men whole. Lastly, one is often at the mercy of robbers, who incessantly wander about in those parts on board *panceaux*,<sup>11</sup> that is small boats which travel like a dart. It is through such dangers we betook ourselves to the coast of *Chatigan*. A last branch of the Ganges runs along this coast, and forms the Gulf of Bengal, on its eastern side, as does the coast of Coromandel on the side of India.

The first inhabitants we met with surprised us by the extraordinary manner in which they were dressed. They had drawers of striped cloth, with broad legs [or : broad at the legs]; slippers; a shirt or a cloth doublet; on the head, a kind of cap for covering the ears [*calotte à oreille*], the ends of which were tucked up, and above all this a night gown which serves them for covering at night, and makes up their dress of ceremony during the day.

<sup>11</sup> *Pancheaux* — A *Pamul*, *pamul*, frequently *panchaway*. H. H. Wilson defines: "A boat for passengers, or goods, varying in burden, having a tilted roof of bamboo, mats, and thatch over the aft portion, usually rowed by two or four men, but carrying a mast and two masts, the most frequent boat in use on the Calcutta river." *Glossary of Indian and Revenue Terms*, etc. Illustration will be found in Grant's *Recent Life in Bengal*, p. 10.



It was in this get-up that, at half a league from the habitation [settlement] which we had reached, they presented themselves to us, each carrying a weapon in the hand.

The Prelate asked who they were, [275] and one of them, acting as spokesman, answered that they were soldiers of such a company, and that they had come to escort his Lordship. Then we understood that it was their regimental dress. The Prelate, charmed by their good will, gave them his blessing. These soldiers were soon followed by the Captains and other officers; all were of good build and of high stature. They kissed the hand of the Bishop, and escorted him in their *Baxeras* as far as the habitation [settlement].

The people received the Prelate with every token of joy and respect; salvos, triumphal arches, illuminations, cavalcades—nothing was forgotten; and it is necessary to render here the justice due to the Reverend Augustinian Fathers; everywhere the Prelate went, they were at pains to make his presence respected by the Gentiles and Moors, and to inspire in this country a high idea of the head of the Christian Religion.

The Prelate commenced his visit on the Feast of the Purification in the year 1713. Here is the order he observed in the visitations to each church. After the preliminary ceremonies, he fixed a number of days in order to dispose the Christians towards [276] the Sacraments, by pious exercises, exhortations, and instructions. He preached, and heard confessions often whole nights through. The missionaries assisted him in the same duties.

But as the visitation of temporalities, the differences of private individuals, and the researches which a Bishop is obliged to make, occupied much of his time otherwise, I was charged with the remainder. The Prelate desired absolutely that I should hold, next to him, the office of Theologian and Penitentiary; and, after all, these duties are but little different from those which a missionary has to fulfil.

When the mission was at the point of concluding, he fixed a general communion for some Festival day, on which day he had a plenary indulgence published according to the privilege that our Holy Father the Pope had granted him: then he gave the Confirmation. During the visit he made at *Chatigan*, he administered this Sacrament to more than two thousand Christians.

You rightly conjecture that, in this great number, it is difficult that all should be of the same fervour. Everywhere there are virtuous souls who are sincerely devoted to God; there are lukewarm Christians whose [277] piety needs to be animated. There are also to be found those who, by their insensibility, afford their pastors a real uneasiness as to their salvation. What



then is to be done? Get edified by the sight of the first; instruct, aid, fortify the others, and deplore the blindness of the last. It was what the Prelate did with an equanimity of soul maintained until the very end. But God, who is not scorned with impunity, caused His justice to be felt by these people. Some have ended their life by a death so tragic that it has been looked upon as a visible punishment for the small amount of deference they paid to the paternal remonstrations of their Bishop.

The needs of this Christianity, and the overflowing of the waters which regularly takes place in the months of July and August, did not permit us to leave so soon. We remained at *Chatigan* until the month of November, without experiencing any inconvenience there. The provisions there are admirable, the climate salubrious, and the water excellent, but the Prelate scarcely profited by these advantages; for he had resolved to continue until death the rigorous abstemiousness which is observed in the Mission of Madura.

[278] The Christians of *Chatigan*<sup>11</sup> are divided into three colonies, at a half-league from one another. Each has its Captain, its Church, its Missionary. There would, however, be enough to occupy several of them [*i.e.*, missionaries.] The Portuguese language is spoken commonly, but the natives of the country, of whom the most part are slaves, and who are almost always addressed in their language, have much difficulty in acquiring, through a strange tongue, the things necessary to their Salvation. With a view to instructing them, as well as the Christians in the interior named *Boctos* who come to *Chatigan* in order to receive the Sacraments, I set myself to study their language; and in a few months, with the aid of an interpreter, I became competent enough to hear confessions, and to prepare a little Catechism, which was of great utility to me in the rest of the journey. I likewise engaged an old Christian full of virtue and zeal to accompany me: he has everywhere performed the duties of an excellent catechist.

The respect which is held in this country for the Christians, and a little also for the arms they carry—for they are all soldiers by profession—gives them complete liberty to celebrate the festivals with the same order and [279] solemnity as in Europe. I was charmed to see them performing the ceremonies of Holy Week. The Repository, in which the Blessed Sacrament was placed, occupied the whole height of the Church, in the form of a throne with several tiers. There, without silvering or gilding, sheets of tin newly melted, and shaped in flowers and festoons, and applied against pieces of decorations of a red hue, produced a very beautiful effect.

<sup>11</sup> See an article in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. LIII, July 1871, by M. Beverley, C. S., "The Perishing of *Chitagan*."



There is another ceremony which is invariably observed among the Portuguese. They select a Sunday in Lent which they call *Domingo da Cruz*. They represent in a Procession Our Saviour bearing his Cross. This ceremony was carried out with admirable order. The statue of our Saviour was made lifelike, although of more than human size.<sup>15</sup> It was placed on a litter, and the Saviour was represented on His knees and bearing His Cross. Twenty-four men carried the litter, and the Father in a cope, holding a veiled Crucifix under a violet canopy, ended the Procession. The stations made from time to time, added to the mournful penitential chant, filled us with devotion. The Procession made the tour of the place by four roads laid out by rule and line.

[280] But what edified me the most was the grave and modest way in which a meeting was made with another statue representing the Blessed Virgin, and a third representing St. Veronica with her veil imprinted with the holy Face of Our Saviour. These representations have something of the majestic and pathetic: they make an extraordinary impression on these peoples, and I myself could not refrain from bursting into tears.

The Festival of the Blessed Sacrament was conducted with equal magnificence, and as yet nothing like to it had been seen in this country. The Prelate thought proper to divide the ceremony. In the morning, each in his own church heard Mass and made his devotions.<sup>16</sup> M. the Bishop celebrated pontifically in the one where he resided and gave the Communion. About three o'clock, Vespers were sung, during which the Christians of the other two churches arrived with their Crosses, their Shrines, and the habit of their Confraternities (these are a kind of surplice); then the Procession went forth. It was astonishing to behold with what care these good folks had decorated the streets; arches of triumph, festoons, streamers, rows of trees planted expressly [281] supplied the place of tapestry. Swivel-guns, mortars, musquetry frequently resounded; and when the Procession returned at the beginning of the night, and when each Christian was seen holding a lighted taper, without counting the torches which were numberless, this illumination alone, accompanied by fireworks, would have deserved the attention of persons possessed of the best taste.

I have more than once regretted that the Europeans, when they wanted to establish themselves in Bengal, have not selected *Chatigan* in preference to *Ougli*, considering the safety of the harbourage, the facility of landing, the abundance of food, and a thousand other advantages which seemed to invite

<sup>15</sup> Mr. Beverley points out that the *Amolatas*, or wax images shown by the Portuguese at Agre at Christmas time, have supplied Mahomedan historians with the word *Kamilwan*.

<sup>16</sup> "In a letter from the Collector, dated 14th August 1806, mention is made of a pension of Rs. 25-7-3 to the Portuguese priest for his attendance at *their* Choschem." Beverley, *Op. Cit.*



them hither. It is true that the Moors, who are interested to have them as it were imprisoned in the heart of their country, oppose this with all their power, and that when by misfortune any one is obliged by the violence of the storms to put into port here, as happened in my time to an English ship and to another Armenian one, which not being able to put in at Balassor were constrained to let themselves drift to *Chatigan*, they burden them with so many vexations, that, after having devoured a part of their resources, they are obliged to abandon the [282] remainder and even the vessel, in order to save their persons. For the rest, *Chatigan* is fifteen degrees further to the east than *Pondicheri*. I had the opportunity of calculating this by means of an eclipse of the moon which I observed with sufficient exactness; as to the latitude, on the several observations I made, it has always appeared to me about 21 degrees 20 seconds.

We left *Chatigan* to re-ascend the Ganges, and repair to *Daca*, the capital of Bengal. At five days' distance from *Chatigan*, we made a detour of one day to visit a Christianity to be found in a place named *Boulopa*.<sup>17</sup> God maintains and directs it Himself immediately: for it is rare that any missionary goes to visit it. It was five years since any one had appeared there: but I may tell you that there was no place where I had greater occasion to be edified. The chief of these Christians is an old man who has five sons, all married. Their family, and the labouring folk who are gathered round them (for they have taken arable lands) form a village of three to four hundred persons. The laborious life which they lead, added to the vigilance and attention of the chief, keeps them in the [283] greatest innocence. The chief came to the bank of the river where M. the Bishop had halted, and evinced, as far as with the aid of an interpreter he could, the joy which he felt on his arrival; but the tears which he shed in abundance were even better proof.

The *Chatigan* missionary and myself went to the folk three-quarters of a league inland. For three or four days we prepared these people for the Sacraments, and after having confessed them we caused an altar to be erected in a decent place, so that M. the Bishop might celebrate there the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

In truth, I was rather doubtful as to whether these good folk were sufficiently struck by the grandeur of our mysteries. That is why in the last exhortations I had striven to inspire them with a just fear of approaching the Holy Table without the needful dispositions. I had even ordered the catechist to examine carefully each one of them individually, and to give a ticket to those whom he would believe to be in a condition to communicate.

<sup>17</sup> Boles, or Bhullesh, a small town to the N.-W. of Noakhali. Mentioned in the *Ain-ul-Akbari*.



At 8 o'clock in the morning we returned to the village. These good folk, [284] and even the Gentiles and Moors of the vicinity, by whom they are much loved, vied with one another to honour the entrance of the Prelate. As we were setting in order the ornaments in order to commence Mass, the Catechist approached me, and said in my ear that there were only three persons who had taken the ticket of Communion: all the rest found themselves unworthy to receive so dreadful a mystery. I was much edified by their simplicity, but as I knew that the majority were prepared by a good confession, I made them a fresh exhortation in order to inspire confidence. Next, I reconciled some of them, after which Mass was begun, at which they communicated. The Catechist was commissioned to make the Sermon, since none of us knew the language well enough to venture on preaching. But I was charmed to see with what precision, and what unction he followed up and handled the points which had been marked out for him. When the heart speaks, words flow naturally.

Communion and Confirmation kept us up to noontide. The Prelate was conducted to his *baseras*. As for myself, I remained still some time [285] in order to administer Baptism, and to give the marriage-blessing to several who had not as yet received it. At last the evening compelled me to rejoin the *baseras* and resume our journey with the tide of the coming night. We spent eight days in getting to *Dacca*, and there we arrived without accident. However, on the fourth day, we saw approaching us a boat of those thieves who scour the river: but as we were well escorted, they adopted the policy of retreat.

*Dacca*, which is, as I have said, the capital of Bengal, is situated about the 24th degree of latitude north. The convenience of the rivers provides this town with a great trade. The muslins which are spun with yarn and silk are much prized in Europe. As for the town, there could be no place more filthy and more ill-arranged. Picture for yourself a prodigious number of huts occupying a plain of about half a league in extent, and which form very narrow streets, thick with mud and muck-pools formed at the smallest showers, in the midst of which some brick houses [286] built in the moresque style and with enough bad taste spring up from spot to spot, somewhat like staddles in our coppices. Such is the natural picture of *Dacca*.

The Christians have their church in a somewhat better quarter in the East of the town: this church is of brick and fairly large. We betook ourselves thither on the first Sunday of Advent. The missionary who had long expected the Bishop had had a room prepared for him. Although it was made of earth, it had an indefinable appearance of neatness which charmed me, but I was yet more surprised by the proposal the Reverend Father made me. "I am going," said he, "to get built for you another room separate, and



which will be such as you desire." "It is not necessary," I replied. "The short time we have to stop here would not afford the opportunity of profiting by it." "You will sleep in it to-night," replied he, "for it only needs to send to the town for this."

This answer still more astonished me, and I was impatient to see the shape of those houses purchased in the market. A [287] half-hour had scarcely gone by, when I saw brought some bundles of reeds with a certain number of mats and screens, also made of reeds, some twenty forked stakes; lastly, two big screens of interlaced branches of trees sufficiently covered with straw to keep off the attack of the sun: that was all that was needed for the roof. The edifice was very shortly set up on two forks which formed the enclosure: to this were attached as many cross pieces as were necessary to fix the building, and all was covered by a double matting. The window, which was made by cutting the mats, was closed by a shutter of the same material fixed on the top in the form of a pentlid. The door was of a similar kind, so that the house was finished before night time. The next day, it only remained to cover the roof with enough straw to be protected against the rain. So I found myself within a few hours lodged agreeably enough.

We remained at *Dacca* the whole of the month of December, which gave us time to celebrate the feast of Christmas. It was spent with much solemnity and devotion. Together with the Bishop we found ourselves six priests in number [288]—an extraordinary occurrence for this country.

After the festival we made ourselves ready for the voyage to *Rangamati*, which is at the furthest limits of the states of the Great Mogol, and is situated on the 27th degree north. It is alleged that from thence one may reach in fifteen days the Province of *Yunam* in China: but the roads are in no way marked out, and the intervening country is occupied by Princes who refuse to grant a way through to foreigners.

We were led to dread this voyage, for it is a common proverb in Bengal that, out of two persons who go to *Rangamati*, there is always one to remain there. But the courage of our Prelate was proof against anything. "What can happen to me?" said he. "Death? Ah well, I shall die in the fulfilment of the duties of my ministry."

Directly after the Festival of the Kings we set out for *Rangamati*, and we were three weeks in reaching it on account of the violence of the currents, which obliged us to cling without ceasing to the tow line. The water was extremely clear: indeed, we did not sail any more on the Ganges, the water of which is everywhere muddy; but on a certain river [289] which coming from the East, throw itself into the Ganges below *Dacca*: whence it derives its source no one could tell me.



The fifth or sixth day we touched at a straggling village entirely Christian, called *Ossumpur*,<sup>1</sup> where we remained only one day, since we would have to re-pass it on the return. The route on which we continued was difficult. We found a desert land, the climate very cold, the river, as happens in this season, covered with continual fogs which only allowed us to see ten steps beyond us, the current rapid, stones on a level with the surface of the river, and in some places sandbanks : however, God who conducted us, knew how to preserve us in all dangers and we arrived happily at *Rangamati*.

The inhabitants received us with great demonstrations of joy ; but, at seeing them pale, disfigured, and bearing on their visages the marks of the fever which wasted them internally, we felt that we had been given a trustworthy account of the malignity of the climate. I escaped, however, with an access of fever. During about twenty-five days we remained here, [290] M. the Bishop administered Confirmation to more than a thousand people.

In the conversations I had with the country folk, I learned a thing which I must not leave out. They informed me that this country had been infested by a dreadful monster : it was a serpent of so great a bulk that, when crawling, it covered a path eight or ten feet large. Generally, it would retreat to a mountain not far distant from *Rangamati* by ascending the river : thence it could easily discover the course of the river, and as soon as it perceived any vessel, it would come down in due time, plunged into the water, upset the boat, and devoured with ease all those who were in it.

This affliction lasted until a criminal condemned to death offered to rid the country of this monster, on condition that his life was granted to him. He found means to ascend the river up to the place at which this horrible dragon dwelt. He constructed several figures of men of straw, which he dressed in clothes, the body of which was filled with hooks, grappies, harpoons, fixed by different ropes attached to the same [291] cable, which was strongly bound to the foot of a tree. He launched on the water the men of straw mounted on floating plantain-trees with which they were taken down by the current. The stratagem succeeded : the dragon saw them, and descended to gobble them up. But there he remained lacerated by the quantity of hooks and harpoons he had swallowed. For my own part, I have counted in the neighbourhood up to eleven crocodiles stretched out on the sand, of which number three or four seemed to me to be twenty-five or thirty feet in length.

On leaving *Rangamati*, we had cause to admire a trait of Divine compassion, in regard to a Christian of honesty and religion, but whose life had not been very disciplined. God, desirous of saving him, allowed him to

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<sup>1</sup> Marked *Ossumpoor* in the Survey of 1769. (Whitchurch's Engraved Map of 1766.) Consult Mr. T. La Touche's notes to *Rennet's Journals*. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1910.)



fall ill directly on our arrival. We availed ourselves of this sickness to bringing him back to his duty. His heart was touched, and he received the Sacraments with all the tokens of a true compunction. The following night they came to tell me that the malady was at the crisis: I was begged to go to him. I betook myself to the house, which was about half a league away, and I found him really very oppressed [292], but always full of sentiments of the most tender piety. I confessed him again, and administered Extreme Unction, and urged him to dispose of his goods without delay. It was two o'clock after mid-night when I left him. There was just time to make his will, and at four o'clock in the morning he peaceably yielded up his soul to the Lord. I was at once informed of his death, and went to perform the rite of his obsequies. It was precisely a day for the privileged altar, which M. the Bishop had permission to grant to the priests of his company. I said Mass, blessing the merciful conduct of Providence towards a man, who, a day later, would have been deprived of this last support. They buried him in a place apart, and, on asking the reason, I was answered that that place was reserved for six persons who had provided the necessary sum for the erection of this Church of Our Lady of the Rosary, and that the deceased was one of the number. I could doubt no longer that the Mother of Pity had obtained so holy a death for one of her zealous servants. After the service, which detained me until noon [293] I betook myself to the river, where they were waiting only for me to depart.

The currents carried us along, so that we were not long in reaching *Ossumpur*. After having satisfied the devotion of the Christians, we penetrated inland thanks to the canals by which the land is intersected. It was in the principal church, dedicated to St. Nicholas of Tolentin, that the Christians received Confirmation at the hands of M. the Bishop. We betook ourselves for the second time to *Dacca* towards Passion Sunday. The Easter duties and various exercises by which the Prelate prepared the faithful for Confirmation occupied us in a consoling manner.

After the Easter feasts we contemplated the return to *Ougli*. This last passage, which lasted about twenty days, fatigued us more than the rest of the voyage. The moons of April and October are always tempestuous in these parts: we were in the former. From the day we left *Dacca* to that of our arrival at *Ougli*, it might be said we always had a storm attached to the rudder of our barque. From three or four o'clock in the evening we were compelled to [294] seek some loop of safety, or some covert arm of river, to shelter us against the tempest, which might attack us at nightfall. We expected to be surprised in doubling a point called *Narsinga*, a little distant from *Cassimbazar*, where we were enveloped in a storm so violent that the next day we could only see the *débris* of the boats which the storm had



broken to pieces. God, however, helped us to gain in time a spot where the shallow waters and absence of current placed us in safety. Some days after, we reached the Church of St. Augustine of the Convent of *Ougli*, where we yielded up thanks to Our Lord for having brought us back to this place in better health even than that in which we had set out.

The Prelate, after having received congratulations on his happy return, wished again to honour by his presence our house at *Chandernagor*. He retired afterwards to the college which the Portuguese Jesuit Fathers have at the *Bandel* of *Ougli*. Scarcely had he remained there nine or ten months, than, worn out with labours, he ended, in the midst of his brethren, his arduous career on the 11th of June of the year 1715 [295] to receive the reward of a life, all the moments of which had been consecrated to the conversion of idolaters.<sup>1</sup> Certain projects of reform which he had meditated, and to which he found strong opposition, were happily executed some time after his death: which caused even the most indifferent persons in Bengal to say, that it was plain that Dom Francisco Laynez had more power at the Court of the King of Heaven than he had had here below on the minds of certain of his diocesans.

You may imagine, my Reverend Father, how much I was pained by the loss of this Prelate; it caused universal mourning. At the first news of his death, the avenues to the College were thronged with an infinite number of people; even the Gentiles and the Moors vied with one another in expressing their regret by their cries and moanings. At the ceremony of his obseques, when the body entered the church, a cry arose from all, mingled with lamentations, which lasted over a quarter of an hour. It was no easy thing to restore quiet, in order to proceed with the office with becoming order and propriety.



<sup>1</sup> Father Auguste Jean, S.J., in his *Le Mahari: L'Ancien et La Nouvelle Mission*, p. 151, states that Father F. Laynez had baptized 50,000 converts with his own hands.



## NOTES ON FATHER BARBIER'S LETTER.

BY THE REV. FATHER H. HOSTEN, S.J.

*Father Claudius Anthony Barbier*: born at Paris, 29th April 1677; entered the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus, 8th September 1692; left for the missions of the Carnatic, of which he became Superior, and died at Pondicherry, 21st November 1723. (Cf. C. Sommervogel, S.J., *Biblioth. de la Comp. de Jesus*.)

*Collection of "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses."*—This Collection was begun by Father Charles LeGobien, S.J., the first eight volumes appearing at Paris between 1702-08; the series was continued by Father J. B. du Halde, S.J., from Vol. IX-XXVI (Paris, 1711-43). These volumes have prefaces not reproduced in subsequent editions: they have, however, been translated by Father Stöcklein in his *Weltbott* under Nos. 165, 176, 180, 184, 188, 221, 319, 341, 433, 521, 582, 620. The next volumes XXVII-XXXVI (Paris and Nîmes, 1749-76) are by Father Patouillet, though some (Vols. 26-32) are attributed to Father Geoffroy, S.J., or to Father Maréchal [Marchal?] and others to Father André le Camus. Father de Querdeuf gave a new edition of *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, but in a different order in 1780-83. This edition was reproduced in 1819 and 1829-32. Finally, in 1938-43, M. L. Aimé-Martin gave a new edition, known as the edition of the *Panthéon littéraire*, 4 Vols. 8vo.

Father Barbier's letter from Pinnepondi [Puneypondi], 13th January 1723, is found in Vol. 18 of the 1st edition, pp. 366-427; in Vol. 13 (Ed. 1781), pp. 262-301, and Vol. 2, pp. 588-98 of the edition of 1843. It must have been addressed to Father du Halde. Another letter of his dated: Puneypondi, 7th January 1720 appears in Vol. 13 (Ed. 1781), pp. 187-96; but this is not the letter alluded to in the beginning of his letter of 1723. The particulars on the death of Bishop Laynes sent by Father Barbier, shortly after the Prelate's demise, are contained in the preface to Vol. XII of *Lettres Edif.*, Paris, MDCCXVII, p. 14 199. For the passage C.F. *infra*.

*Francisco Troyano Laynes* [Laynes]: born at Lisbon, 6th October 1656; entered the Society of Jesus, 16th October 1672; left for India, 26th March 1681; laboured in the Madura Mission, then in Marava; was visitor of the Madura Mission in 1695; returned to Europe at the end of 1704 as Procurator of the Mission; was appointed titular Bishop of Soropolis and Coadjutor-Bishop to Dom Gaspar Alonso Alveres, S.J., Bishop of Meliapur, in 1707; consecrated at Lisbon on 18th March 1708; returned to India, arriving at Goa 25th September 1709 after a voyage of 17 months; took charge of his see, as fifth Bishop of Meliapur, in the beginning of 1710; made the first episcopal visitation of Bengal from the middle of 1712 to the time of his death, 11th June 1715. On the life and labours of Bishop Laynes, cf. J. BERTRAND, S.J., *La Mission du Maduré d'après des documents inédits*, Paris, 1834, IV, 191; PRAT, S.J., *Hist. du Bienheureux Jean de Britto*, Paris, 1853, with his *Noticia biogr. sur le P. François Laynes, évêque de Meliapour*; also: A. FRANCO, S.J., *Imagem da Virtude em o Noviciado de Coimbra*, Coimbra, 1719, II, pp. 713-47; and: CASIMIRO CHRISTOVÃO DE NAZARETH, *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*, BOMBAY, 1888, "Portuguese Printing Press," III., 96, where bibliographical materials are pointed out.

[263.] *Extent of the Meliapur Diocese.*—At the instigation of Philip II., King of Portugal, the Diocese of Meliapur was erected on 9th January 1606, thus severing from the Diocese of Cochin the territories of Coromandel, Orissa, Bengal and Pegu.



[264.] *Visitation of the Madura Mission*.—Father Martin, S.J., in his letter dated Varugapata, 10th December 1713 (cf. *Lettres Edif.*, Ed. 1781, Vol. 12, pp. 109-169), gives an interesting account of the Prelate's pastoral visit through his diocese. Father Tachard, S.J. relates his visit to the Bishop at Meliapur in his letter from Chandernagore, 18th January 1711 (cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 9).

[265.] *University of Nadia*.—Father Martin, S.J., no doubt alludes to it in *Lettres Edif.* (Ed. 1781), Vol. X, p. 39. Letter dated from Balasore, 30th January 1699. He had arrived in Bengal in 1697 and wrote: "As soon as I had arrived in this beautiful kingdom which is under the dominion of the Mohammedans, though nearly the whole country is given to idolatry, I applied myself earnestly to learning the 'Bengali' language. At the end of five months, I found myself advanced enough to be able to disguise myself and cast myself into a famous University of Brahmans. As we have had so far but slight knowledge of their religion, our Fathers wished me to remain in it two or three years, that I might get fully acquainted with it. I had resolved on the plan, and was ready to execute it, when suddenly there arose so violent a war between the Mohammedans and the Gentiles that there was security nowhere, especially for Europeans."

Tieffentaller, who visited Bengal in 1765, writes: "Nadia is a town of 34 m. in length; famous formerly, inhabited by Brahmans, now fallen from its ancient estate." Cf. J. Bernouilli, *Descr. de l'Inde*, 1786, I., p. 453.

Prof. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusana writes to me: "You will notice that Nadia became a great centre of Sanskrit learning about 1503 A.D., and maintained its reputation up to 1850 when the University of Calcutta was founded. Five sciences flourished at Nadia: Logic (*Nyāya*); Jurisprudence (*Smṛiti*); Astronomy (*Jyotiṣa*); Philosophy of mystic meditations and rites (*Tantra*), and the Philosophy of Vaisnavism."

[268.] *Earliest Catholic Churches in Calcutta*.—*Asiaticus*, many of whose facts and dates cannot be implicitly relied on, writes: "Job Charnock, the father of Calcutta, settled there in the year 1689: a few Portuguese followed him to the new settlement, where, to increase population and civilization, the English Government allotted them ground for the exercise of divine worship, on which the Friars of the Order of St. Augustine erected a temporary Chapel of mats and straw, and application was made to the Prior of Bandel for a Priest to officiate therein: the Portuguese congregation quickly increased, and before the year 1700 a Brick Chapel was erected in Calcutta at the expence of Mrs. Margaret Tench: this Chapel was much enlarged in the year 1720 by Mrs. Sebastiana Shaw during the Vicarship and under the direction of the Rev. Fr. Francisco da Assumpção. The tombstones of those two pious benefactresses were placed, in a conspicuous place, aloft, in the walls of the Old Chapel, and now lie one at each side of the altar, in the present Church of the Virgin Mary of [the] Rosary." Cf. p. 50. Cf. also *The Bengal Catholic Herald*, Jan. 1, 1842, pp. 2-3, where it is said that Charnock in 1689 allotted to the Catholics 10 bigahs of land for the exercise of divine worship.

[267.] *Father Guy Tachard, S.J.*—The late Father J. B. Van Meurs, S.J., drew up from our Catalogues the following outline of his career: born at Perigueux, 20th January 1651; entered the Society of Jesus, 7th October 1670; taught humanities: 5 years; Rhetoric: 1 year; was professed at Paris, 15th August 1684. [A Catalogue of Aquitaine states that he was born at Angoulême, 7th April 1651 and entered the novitiate, 20th September 1668 at Limoges, during his philosophy.] In 1668, at Bordeaux, in his second year of theology; in 1680-81, after completing his theology, is with the fleet of the Vice-Admiral; in 1681-82, makes his third year of probation; in 1682-83 and 1683-84, at Paris, where he composes his



*Dictionarium Novum Latino-Gallicum*, first published in 1687; 1685-86, in Siam up to 1693-94; 1694-95, at Paris "*ad regem Siamensem*," [a mistake, I suppose for "*ad regem Siamensem*"]; 1695-96, Superior of the [French] Mission in the East; he holds still the same capacity in 1700-01; 1701-02, Vice-Provincial of the [French] Missions in the East Indies; ditto in 1704-05; 1705-06, in the Indian Missions up to his death. The Catalogue of 1705-06 states that Fathers Peter Martin, Peter Dlusse, Peter Mauduyt, and Alexander Casalets are with him in the same Mission.

Father C. Sommervogel, S.J., (*Bibl. de la C. de J.*) completes our information, though some of his dates clash with the above: "About 1680, he followed Marshal d'Estrées to the colonies in South America, where he remained about four years. In 1685, he accompanied M. de Chaumont in his embassy to Siam, and returned to Europe as interpreter to the Siamese Embassy sent to Louis XIV. and the Sovereign Pontiff. In 1689, Father Tachard returned to India and was one of the first apostles of Chandernagore, where he died, 21st October 1712. From a letter of Father Dolu, his companion at Chandernagore, to M. de St. Fonds, 7th April 1715, we learn that Father Tachard made nine voyages: in 1685, with M. de Chaumont; returned in 1686, with the Siamese ambassadors; back to Siam in 1687, with 15 Jesuit Missionaries; returned to Europe in 1689, with the title of ambassador; 5th journey in 1690 to Siam and thence to Pondichery; this town having been seized by the English, he was taken a prisoner to Europe; 7th voyage, after the treaty of Ryswick; returned to Europe in 1699; new departure for Siam." One of his letters is dated: Chandernagore, 18th January 1711, cf. *Lettres Edif.* (Ed. 1781), Vol. 12, pp. 5-55.

[270. *The Jesuit College at Hugli*.—Valentyn speaks of the Jesuit Church and that of the Augustinians, two miles above the Dutch lodge, and near the Moorish entrenchments, Dorda—(p. 162). Cf. *Keurlyke beschrijving van Choromandel*... 1726, V Deel. The word "College" is somewhat misleading. The term was often used, and in the case of Hugli it surely was, as synonymous with "Residence." There may have been, and probably there was, a school attached to it; but, it could never have been a large one, for the *personnel* of the House was always very limited. Our Catalogues of the Malabar Province for 1711 and 1715 place in Bengal only two Jesuit priests: Fathers Frederic Zech and Nicholas Missoni. The place of their residence is not determined, though likely enough, they lived at Hugli. (Cf. Father Tieffentaller's map.)

I find on them the following particulars:—FATHER FREDERIC ZECH [Czech]: of the Province of Upper Germany; born on 28th February 1678 at Munich, according to Father Anthon Huonder, S.J. (Cf. *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg, 1899, p. 180), on 22nd March, 1667, near Bracten, according to the Catalogues of Malabar (1705, 1711, 1715); entered the Society on 24th August, 1695 (*Cat. of 1705*); had studied Philosophy and Theology before his entrance into the Novitiate; left Lisbon for India in 1699, according to A. Franco, S.J., who adds that he came from Breslau; laboured for 2 years (1700-1701) on the Fishery Coast (Ramesuram); was Rector of the College in Bengal [Hugli] in 1705, when he is described as weak in health; Rector of "Bengala" in 1708; made his profession of four vows at "Ugulin" [Hugli] in 1710, and is said to be enjoying fairly good health; in 1718 appears as appointed Rector of Meliapur; in 1722, as having governed and being now governing the College of Bengal; died probably about 1729. Cf. C. Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibl. de la C. de J.* sub *Czech*, Vol. III., and IX, Col. 1762, where it is stated that he was born at Breitenfurth, Silesia, Austria.

FATHER NICHOLAS MISSONI, an Italian, born at Friuli, in January 1667; entered the Society in November 1687 (elsewhere 27th September 1686); came to India in 1699 (A. Franco); after spending less than 2 years in the Malabar Province was sent to Goa, whence



he returned; was in the College of Bengal in 1705, where he enjoyed good health; ~~1711~~ in 1711 and 1715; made his profession of four vows on 1st November, 1717 (*Cat. of 1718*).

Writing in 1765, Father Tieffenthaler says of Houghli Bandar: "To the N. W., on the very bank of the river, one sees a Church and a Convent of the Augustinians. Going further from there, towards the same side, and turning to the W., you find another Church, dedicated to Our Lady, but to-day nearly completely ruined. Of the buildings inhabited by the Jesuits, there remains nothing whatever." The Jesuits' Church was dedicated to Our Lady's Nativity.

[270]. *Bandel Church*.—On the arrival of the first Augustinians at Bandel (Hugli) in 1599, there was at least one church in the place. The Augustinians at once commenced a Church, on the day of Our Lady's Assumption (1599?). The Jesuit Church of Chandecan was dedicated to the H. Name of Jesus, on 1st January 1600; another Church followed at Chittagong in 1601, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and a third in a third Bandel, probably near Chittagong, which was sacred to Our Lady's Immaculate Conception.

[270]. *Sickness at Chander nagore*.—Father Tachard died 21st October 1712. Though Father Barbier states that there were many priests in Bishop Layner's ante-room during his illness, I do not think that as many as 20 religions were found together in the Jesuit Residence of Chandernagore. Under ordinary circumstances, the *personnel* of the house was much smaller. Perhaps, the pupils of the school connected with the residence are counted among the inmates.—Father Barbier's health suffered greatly in Bengal. Cf. *Lettre. Edif.* (1781), Vol. 13, p. 187.

[271]. *Foodstuffs "admirable" at Chutigan* [Chittagong]. Ancient travellers in India often express their astonishment at the cheapness of foodstuffs. Frey Manrique, O.S.A., in his *Itinerario*, Rome, 1653, p. 18, states that at Dacca one could obtain 20 pigeons for one real, and so for the rest. Padre Marco Della Tomba, writing a hundred years later with reference to the neighbourhood of Parna, says: "From the time the English have made themselves masters of the country, India is ruined and foodstuffs are dearer than ever: where before one could obtain 60 or 70 fowls for a rupee, one gets only 4 or 3 to-day." (Cf. *Gli scritti del P. Marco della Tomba*, da A. de Gubernatis, Firenze, 1878, p. 36).

[272]. *Churches at Chittagong*.—Manrique, who was in Chittagong in 1630, mentions an Augustinian Church at Dianga, near Chittagong, and another in the Bandel of Angaracale, three miles from Dianga. Sicardo, in his *Christiandad del Japon* (Madrid, 1696, Ch. III.) speaks of two churches in the same direction (Chittagong and Dianga?), one of them under the title of Our Lady of Mercies.

A letter of Rev. Fr. Barbe, Vicar of Chittagong (Dated: Chittagong, Sept. 5, 1843) points out the various Christian settlements in the neighbourhood of Chittagong. At the Bandel stood the new Church erected by his predecessor, the Rev. A. Goiran: an edifice measuring 150 ft. x 40 ft. On the same ground were the Boys' School and the Parochial House. Close to the Church ground, a large Bungalow had been erected the year before for a Girls' School. The Christians, to the number of 1,600, were living in different places: about 600 in town; at *Jamalkhan*, about 3 miles from the town, some 300 Christians, having a Church and burial-ground (Father Barbe had prayers there every second Sunday, early in the morning); others lived some 12 or 15 miles from town. In 1842 a bungalow was built at *Khatolliah* (mostly at the expense of Mr. J. D. Freitas). It was 4 miles from town, about 100 Christians living in that village. "There I have prayers every second Sunday early in the morning, and I come back to town for High Mass, which begins at 10 o'clock." Turning to the past history of Chittagong, he writes: "The Portuguese settled on the Coast of Chittagong in the year 1600, and entered as warriors in the service of the



native Princes. The first Church was built by them at *Deaug* [Dianga], which is at the mouth of the river. The spot may yet be traced: it is on an elevated ground; the building appears to have been about 80 ft. in length and 40 in breadth. 12 Christian families live close to that spot, and I was told by a Mussulman, who is about 100 years old, that he recollected the time when some of the villages close to that place were all inhabited by Christians. Since that epoch, some families are gone to Tipperah, some to Neacolly [Noakhali], and the remainder are in different places of the Chittagong district." (*Cf. Bengal Catholic Herald*, 1843, Vol. V., 268-271. The letter is accompanied by a sketch of the Bandel Church of Chittagong, Boys' School and Parochial House.)

[278.] *Boctos*.—"At a place called Sultanpur," writes Father Peter Altenhofen, C.S.C., from Chittagong, "nearly 15 miles in N. E. direction from Chittagong, there is still a group of people, numbering several hundred souls, and known by the name of *Bocto* or *Bhocto*. They claim to belong to the warrior or Kshatriya caste, but are not recognised as such by the other Hindus, especially those of the same caste, who regard communication with them as polluting. These *Boctos* are well known as bards, poets and singers, and are fond of showing their productions. They come still regularly to the town of Chittagong on the great Hindu festivals, take part as singers in the religious ceremonies, and cater for the amusement of the people. It seems that their trade is fast drawing to an end, since of late many of these *Boctos* have taken to business.

"Whether these *Boctos* have still—or ever had—any idea of Christianity, I was unable to learn. Repeatedly I have heard from European gentlemen that they found in the country people now pagan and Mussulman who practice still ceremonies closely resembling those of the Catholic Church. How far this is true and whether the *Boctos* belong to them I could not yet ascertain.

"But, it is perhaps not out of the way to mention that in the direction of Sultanpur, and even on the same road (to Hathaziri) there were formerly several strong Christian settlements, but all have disappeared except a few now inhabited by only some 60 Christians. The last of these settlements is only 2 or 3 miles away from the *Boctos*, and it strikes me that the Church of Chittagong still possesses some land in their neighbourhood. Another large village of Christians, called Noapara, was likewise near by, on the confluence of the Halda River with a tributary. I saw the ruins of the place, where 50 years ago there were still about 300 Christians. Now there is not a Christian soul left."

In view of Father Altenhofen's description of the *Boctos*, their name seems to be derivable from *bhakt*, which, besides meaning an adorer, is also a Hindu performer, dancer, player.

[278.] *Bengali Catechism*.—As far as I know, the only earlier allusion to translational work undertaken by our missionaries in Bengal is contained in a letter of Father Francis Fernandez, dated Siripur, a town of Bengala, 17th January 1599. (*Cf. Extrait des lettres du P. Nicolas Pimenta*.....Anvers, Trogneze, 1601). He states that he composed a small treatise explaining summarily the points of the Christian religion, and confuting the superstitions of the Moors and the Gentiles. To this he added a small catechism in the form of a dialogue. Father Dominic de Sousa, S.J., translated both into the "Bengala" tongue.

Frey Manuel de Assumpção composed a Catechism in Bengali in 1735. It was printed at Lisbon in 1763 in Roman type, and reprinted partially, in Bengali type, in 1836 at Serampur.

[282.] *Longitude and latitude of Chittagong*.—Long. 91° 52' 44" E.; Lat. 22° 21' 3" N.—For Pondicherry: Long. 79° 52' 33" E.



[282.] *Bulua*.—Father Barbe reported in 1843 that there were 633 Christians at Noakhalee. At Comillah, he was the guest of Mr. Courgeon, the rich Zemindar of Comillah. At Agartollah, the residence of the Rajah of Tipperah, lived 118 Christians. Number of Christian houses: 28. Some of the Christians were employed by the King as soldiers. Cf. *Bengal Catholic Herald*, Calcutta, 1843, July 1, pp. 3-7.

[285.] *Description of Dacca*.—Cf. *Tavernier's Travels in India*, Edited by V. Ball, London, 1889, Vol. I, p. 128. "The Church of the Rev. Augustinian Fathers is all of brick, and the workmanship of it is rather beautiful." This was in 1666. Fray Maurique, who was in Bengal between 1628 and 1640 notices that the Christians lived in the suburbs of *Narandín and Pulgarí*: "*y a donde mi sagrada Religión tiene un lúdo, nunca pequeño Convento, con una buena Iglesia, en la qual celebrando el Divino culto en medio de aquel vastísimo Paganismo, le muestra también el verdadero camino para su salvación*." Cf. *Thuerario* p. 17. The Church was dedicated to Our Lady's Assumption.

[288.] *Rangamati*.—There are several Rangamatis in Assam; one in the Goalpara District, 6 miles N.E. of Gauripur town (Cf. *Assam District Gazetteer*, Calcutta, 1905, Vol. III, p. 30); another in the Darrang District, which appears on the district map as Rangamatighat, a station for steamers (Cf. *ibid.* Darrang, Vol. V, p. 177); finally, a third in the Golaghat Sub-division (Cf. *ibid.* Sibsagar, Vol. VII, p. 162.) I believe the second locality is meant: its position agrees well enough with that assigned by Father Barbier: 27° N. It is on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra (Fiscal Division of Golá Alamgarh) and was in olden times the site of a Mohammedan fortress, of which the ruins are still to be seen. (Cf. W. HUNTER, *A Statistical Account of Assam*, London, 1879, Vol. II, p. 27.)

Frey Sicardo, O. S. A., wrote (1696):—In the camp of Beucomatis (*etc.*) on the confines of Assam, in the country subject to the King of the Mughls (!) "there are two Churches, one dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary, the other to Our Lady of Guadalupe" (Cf. *Op. cit.*) The text, I believe, refers to the Rangamati of Father Barbier, and not to Rangamati, on the Karnaphuli River, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. On the one hand, Fr. Barbier states that the Church of Rangamati was dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary; on the other, however, Sicardo places Rangamati in the Kingdom of the Mughls.

Padre Marco della Tomba wrote between 1758 and 1769: "Between the lands of Cambo and those of Indostan towards Daka, there is another Raja [*Ragla*], called *Raghamati*, who would seem to be to the East of Nepal, beyond the lands of Kirat, where they say there are many Christians, and they say also that the Portuguese Fathers lived there formerly, but have since retired to Daka. (Cf. *Gli scritti del Padre Marco della Tomba*, raccolti da A. de Gubernatis, p. 59).

"*Rangamati*," writes Father Tieffenthaler, "was formerly a populous town, with a Church. It is situated on the Northern bank of the *Lubia*, 2 miles from the bank of the *Bremapoutar*, and rather near to the passage called *Kountagat*. The houses stretch to the N., almost up to the banks of the *Bremapoutar*. It has 5 m. in length, and 2 in breadth, is situated on sandy hills and in valleys; 20 m. from Gohathi which separates the district of *Daka* from the country of *Ascham*." (Cf. J. Bernouilli, *Descr. de l'Inde*, I, p. 459.)

"Sixty years ago," we find in W. Hamilton's *The East India Gazetteer*, London, 1828, Vol. II, p. 459, "this place is said to have contained 1,500 houses, several of which were inhabited by Mogul Chiefs and others by Portuguese. At present, its condition is very miserable, exhibiting only 250 scattered huts, and of public buildings the vestiges of a fort and mosque. . . ." For Rangamati, Cf. Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*, Plates v. 12, xvii. Cf. also Stewart's *History of Bengal*, pp. 48, 290.



[223.] *Ossampur*.—After visiting Ossampur, which was 3 or 6 journeys up the river from Dacca, the Bishop and his party pushed into the interior, along a network of canals, and, before returning to Dacca, they visited other Christian establishments, Confirmation being given in the "principal" Church of St. Nicholas of Tolentino. Manrique mentions a Church and Residence of the Augustinians at Cattrabo, a place to be identified with Kariabub or Kasibari near Sābbār in the Mānikganj Sub-division, where there is still a tappa called Kāthorābo. (Cf. H. BEVERIDGE, *Proc. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1903, pp. 133-34.)

One Catterabo is marked below Sonargaon in Vanden Broucke's map of 1660. The Church of Kattrabo had probably disappeared in Fr. Barbier's time. The Church of St. Nicholas de Tolentino was at Bhawal. Rennell in his *Bengal Atlas*, 1791, Pl. xvii., marks Catholic Churches at Panchdownah, Bowal [Bhawal] and Simliya near Dacca; there was also a Church at Tesgaon. According to *Annuario da Archid. de Goa*, 1897, pp. 193-94, the Church of Tesgaon dates from 1714, that of Nagory (Bhawal) from 1664, that of Hosnabad from 1777.

[295] *Some of the Acts of Bishop Laynez in Bengal*.—In *Hullartum Patronatus Portugalliae Regum*. . . Vol. iii. by Viscount de Paiva Manso, Lisbon, MDCCCLXXXIII., will be found four documents referring to Bishop Laynez' tour in Bengal.

1st, Letter of Francis Laynez, Bishop of Meliapur, to the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* (from Bengal, 3 December 1712, p. 129) representing to the Congregation the difficulties experienced by the Capuchin Missionaries in Lhasa. Some of them have returned and proceed now to Rome to expose the destitution they have been exposed to.

2d, Letter of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* to Francis Laynez, Bishop of Meliapur, (Rome, 9 January 1714, p. 133) thanking him for his kindness to the Capuchin Missionaries on their return from Thiber, and announcing that new Missioners leave with the Prefect of the Mission, Father Dominic di Fano. The number of Missionaries will thus be raised to twelve, and a yearly subsidy of 1,000 scudi is assigned for their support.

3d, Letter of Francis Laynez, Bishop of Meliapur, dated Chandernagore, 14 July 1714, and signed by his Secretary, Padre Manoel do Rozario e Magalhães (pp. 135-137), laying the Bandel of Uguly [Hugh] under interdict.

4th, Letter of the same dated Ugolum, 8 October 1714, removing the interdict from the Churches of the Bandel of Hugli (p. 138).

H. HOSTEN, S.J.

#### APPENDIX.

##### DEATH OF BISHOP FRANCIS LAYNEZ, S.J.

17 June 1715.

The following is an unpublished account of Bishop Laynez' death by Father Claudius Anthony Barbier, S.J., written about a month and a half after the event.

The original Latin document, a copy of Father Barbier's letter, is preserved in our Roman Archives, and a photographic reproduction of it is in the possession of the translator.

This letter determines more precisely the exact spot where the great Bishop was buried. It was neither Chandernagore, nor Chinsura, as has been often stated; nor was he buried in the actual Church of Bandel. The evidence supplied by Father Barbier's two accounts (1715 and 1723) is convincing. After spending the Easter of 1714 at Dacca, Bishop Laynez returned to Hugli in April and spent 20 days on the way. Shortly after he visited Chandernagore. In fact, his letter laying the Bandel of Hugli under interdict is dated Chandernagore, 14 July 1714. After this, not later than August, apparently, he retired to "the College



which the Portuguese Fathers have in the Bandel of Ougli." Here he spent nine or ten months, wrote Father Barbier in 1723. "ten months continuously," he had written in 1715. Bishop Laynes was surely in Hugli on 8 October 1714, when he removed the interdict from the Bandel. On the morrow of Ascension Day, 1715, he began a ten days' retreat at the College of the Society at Hugli. Here he died, and was buried before the High Altar of the College Church. As the Portuguese Jesuits had but one house in Hugli at the time, nay in the whole of Bengal, their Church of Hugli must be that of which some ruins can yet be traced in a cocconut-garden still popularly called "San Paulo," not far from Bandel. It is well known that the Jesuits were commonly called the Paulist Fathers from their great College of *San Paulo de Santa Fe* of Goa. With the help of Father Tieffenthaler's plan of the old College and Church, already in ruins in his time (1763), it should be easy to fix on the exact spot where the Bishop was buried and recover his remains. Excavations ought not, however, to be undertaken by any irresponsible persons; for, several other Jesuit Fathers were buried in the same Church.

H. HOSTEN, S.J.

ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE, CALCUTTA.

[Fol. 1]. TO THE VERY REVEREND FATHER GENERAL IN CHRIST,  
H[ax] C[hristi].

This letter will bring to your Very Reverend Paternity the sad intelligence of the death of the Very Reverend Father in Christ, Dom Francis Laines, Bishop of Mellapore. Even pagan India deploras his loss; our neophytes lament him unceasingly, and the militant Society here on earth will long miss him, while the Society triumphant in Heaven has, we hope, welcomed him and ranked him among the saintly Prelates which she has herself begotten.

This precious death occurred on the eleventh of June of this year 1715, the eighth year since his consecration, and after he had peacefully sat in his Church for about (*admodum*) seven months, and had spent the remainder in most laborious journeyings undertaken for the glory of God, the salvation of souls, and the fulfilment of the duties of his office. For penetration of mind, excellence in the polite as well as in barbarous languages, knowledge of the Sacred Writ, prudence in the conduct of momentous affairs, he may with advantage be compared to the best; but, I should be ashamed to praise such accomplishments in one who "*suffered the loss of all these things, that he might gain Christ.*"

Indeed, these last four years, from the time that he made me the companion of his travels, I have seen with my own eyes what I have not unfrequently heard from the reports of others, what your Very Reverend Paternity, to whom he was specially known and dear, had been able to witness in Rome; I have seen him, I say, combine in such wise the accomplishments of a Pontiff with the virtues of a religious as to prove himself a genuine apostle, a worthy successor of St. Thomas. The integrity of his life was such as the Society demands of her sons; having entered religion before he had completed his fifteenth year, he kept his innocence unsullied to his dying breath. Add to this his delicacy of conscience bordering on scrupulousness, his remarkable spirit of prayer, to which—over and above the devotions imposed on ecclesiastics—he devoted daily several hours of mental and vocal prayer. His love of poverty caused him to refuse to himself many things which might appear indispensable; what little was given him for the discharge of the duties of his office, he gave away almost entirely to the poor and



to widows; and that abstemiousness which he had begun to practise in the Madura Mission at the age of twenty-five, no fatiguing travels by land or sea could ever make him break: he observed it until a few days before his death. And lest he should appear to have lost the merit of obedience when he was raised, much against his wish, to the dignity of a Bishop, he would, as much as possible, retire to the houses of the Society, where he was for all his brethren a model of religious observance. In short, such was his private life that there appeared in it hardly any trace of human frailty to be found fault with.

The public virtues of this great man are enough attested by close on fifty thousand infidels baptized by his hand, by as many or an even greater number whom he anointed with Holy Chrism, by his canonical visitation, during which he traversed all the provinces lying between Cape Comorin and the confines of China—such is the extent of the Meliapore Diocese—by that good odour of Christ, which the presence of the Prelate everywhere exhaled. The sweet fragrance of his high virtues drew to him the hearts of all, a few excepted, whom long familiarity with every form of vice had hardened against all the motions of the Holy Spirit. [Fol. 2.] And these men, if indeed they were the authors of his death,—as report had it and certain signs of poisoning observed here and there on the dying man's face gave sufficient evidence of (*non obscure probaverit*)—gratified the wishes of one who in word and deed “*delivered himself so often an oblation for his sheep*,” and added to the sacred purple of a Bishop a martyr's laurels.

However that may be, these are secrets to be left to the finding of the Eternal Judge. Let me recount in brief what is sure and certain. A feeling of weariness, brought about “*by daily instance and the solitudes of Churches*,” had since long harassed this apostolic man. Immediately after Easter, he began to feel somewhat worse, until the disease gained strength and declared itself in a slight daily fever. He foreboded that *the laying away of his tabernacle* was at hand, and the better to prepare himself for this, he began on the morrow of the Ascension, a ten days' retreat in the College of the Society, whither he had betaken himself after his visitation of the Churches in Bengal, and where he had then spent ten months continuously; but, the following Tuesday, while he was celebrating, he had a fainting fit, and was compelled to interrupt his mass. He lived only eight days longer. We did not expect his death so soon. To him it was not unexpected; for, all the time that the fever would leave him free, his mind was fixed on God; he prayed and, even during the delirium which the paroxysm of the fever at times provoked, words fell from his lips expressive of his devout feelings and his zeal for souls.

And so, shortly before he lost the use of his tongue, he was heard to suggest to himself quietly and recite meditatively the formula of Extreme Unction. Amidst the sighs of all, after a last absolution and Extreme Unction, he rendered up his pious soul to his Maker at 3 P.M. on the Tuesday after Whitsunday. Immediately after, a great many people of various nationalities—of which there are many represented in that place—flocked to the College. His obsequies took place the next day. They will be remembered not so much for their exterior pomp as for the universal mourning and the unwonted sobs of all good people. Meanwhile, the remains of that great Prelate rest in the hope of resurrection before the high altar of the College of the Society. Christ our Lord disposed things in such a way that, having imbibed the Spirit of the Society in his youth, and preserved it undiminished throughout life, though an order from the Supreme Pontiff for a time separated him from her, he should be restored to her in death.

<sup>1</sup> Father Tachard, who dined with him at Meliapor, states that only vegetables and milk appeared at his table. *Cl. Lettr. Edif.* (Ed. 1781), Vol. XII., p. 9 to p. 23. On the List followed by the *Sauvages* Missionaries of the Madura Mission. *Cl. Lettr. Ed.* (Ed. 1781), Vol. XIII., pp. 6-7.



I thought I should give pleasure to your Very Reverend Paternity by writing to you these events, of which I was an eye-witness. Add that, for the affection which the defunct Prelate showed me, though quite a young man in the Mission (*modernum missionarium*), I could not omit returning to his memory at least this proof and tribute of my gratitude. I shall add nothing more except that I ask your Very Reverend Paternity to recommend me to God in your Holy Sacrifices.

Bengal, Chandernagor, on the Calends of August [August 1] 1715.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's

Very humble servant and devoted son in Christ,

CLAUDIUS ANTHONY BARBIER,

Missionary of the  
Society of Jesus.

I append a translation of the extract from the above letter made by Father du Halde in *Lettres Edifiantes*, Vol. XII., Paris, 1717, p. 14 sqq.

"The Mission in the Indies has suffered another great loss, which all the Christians and even the Idolaters do deplore. M. Layner, Bishop of Meliapor, and formerly a Missionary in Madura, died on the 11 [sic] of June of the year 1715, in the eighth year of his Episcopate. He was a Prelate who united in his person all the virtues of a religious and a Bishop. He had entered our Society at the age of 15, and he kept to his dying breath that innocence of life which he had brought into it at so tender an age; his conscience was extremely delicate and he had a particular attraction to prayer: beside the time he daily devoted to the prayers prescribed to Ecclesiastics, he would spend still many hours in devotion. Out of love for poverty, he deprived himself of the most necessary things, and the little they gave him to keep up his dignity, he distributed almost wholly among the poor. Though a Bishop, and notwithstanding the fatigues of his apostolic journeyings, he never relented aught the vigorous abstinence kept by the Missionaries of Madura. Fifty thousand infidels baptized by his hand, a greater number on whom he conferred the Sacrament of Confirmation, his visitation through all the provinces lying between Cape Comorin and the confines of China; these are proofs of his zeal and pastoral solicitude. He had just completed the visitation of all the churches of the Kingdom of Bengal, when he retired to our house of Chandernagor<sup>1</sup> there to make, according to custom, a ten days' retreat: the third day of his retreat, he was so ill at the altar that he was obliged to interrupt the H. Sacrifice, and lived only eight days longer. His obsequies took place in our Church, where he was buried; there was a great concourse of people, the incessant sighs and sobs of the congregation speaking the eulogy of the deceased. These are particulars we have received from Father Barbier who assisted at the last moments of that great Prelate, and accompanied him during four years in the visitation of his diocese."

[Fol. 1.]

Admodum Reverende in Christo Pater Generalis,

P. C.

Tristem Rmae Patris V<sup>ra</sup> nuncium hæc epistola perferet, de obitu Reverendissimi in Xo/Patris Dni Francisci Laynes, Episcopi Mellaporensis quem ereptum sibi luget/etiam infidelis India, neophyti planctu continuo prosequuntur, diu desiderabit/militans in terris Societas, dum triumphans in cælo, prout confidimus, excepit/Sanctis quos ipsa paritavit, antistitibus annumerandum.

<sup>1</sup> A mistake.



Contigit illa preciosa/mors undecimo Junii hujus anni 1715 anno ab ejus Inauguratione octavo; cum/in Ecclesia sua pacificus sedisset menses admodum septem; reliquum tempus/suscepit pro Dei gloria, salute animarum, exequendisq; munerib; sui partib; laboriosissimis Itinerationibus consumpisset. Vir animi sagacitate Linguarum Politiorum aequo ac barbararum peritâ, studio Sacrarum Litterarum, / prudentia rebus in agendis primariis quibusque viris facile comparandus; sed/ista laudare pigeat in eo qui ea omnia detrimentum fecit ut Christum lucrifaceret.

Sane postremis hiæc annis quatuor, ex quo sine me comitem peregrinationis ascivit, vidi meis oculis, quod aliis referentibus non semel audieram/quod R<sup>m</sup> P<sup>r</sup> Tna, cui notus imprimis atque carus erat, Romæ potuerat/experiri: vidi, inquam, Præsulem hunc ita Pontificias dotes cum religiosis virtutibus, ita conjunxisse, ut genuinum se apostolum Sti Thomae dignum successorem probaverit: Erat in eo vitæ integritas qualem Societas exigit in suis, / utpote, qui nondum expleto ætatis decimo quinto, Religionem ingressus, eam virtutem ad ultimum vitæ spiritum illibatam servaverit. Accedebat/teneritudo conscientiae, quæ ad scrupulum usque vergeret, studium eximium/orationis, cui præter imperata viris Ecclesiasticis officia plures horas orando/tum mente tum voce tribuebat. Faciebat paupertatis amor, ut sibi/multa quæ caeteroqui necessaria videri poterant, subnegaret; exiguum illud quod/ad sustinenda sui officii munera concedebatur, penè omne in egenos et viduas / erogaret; ab continentiam quam in Missionem Madurensi colere coepit natus / annos viginti quinque nullis unquam itinerum terrâ marique defatigationib; interruptam paucis ante obitum diebus etiam-num retinebat. Obedientiæ/ meritum, ne perdidisse videretur, tum cum vel vetans in Episcopum assumptus / est; deliniceps quatenus potuit ad Domicilia Societatis divertens ibi sociis omnibus Religiosæ observantiae specimen dabat. Quid multa? Vitam privatam sic/ instituerat ut quod in eo notares humanæ fragilitatis indicium vix quidquam / appareret.

De publicis autem tanti viri virtutibus, satis loquentur baptizata ab eo ferme/ quinquaginta infidelium nulla, totidem vel etiam plures sacro Chrismate/ delibuti, peragratae ac lustratae per canonicam visitationem tot provinciae/ quot inter promontorium Comorinum ad usque Sinarum prope confinia /o/terjacent, tantundem enim Diocesis Meliaporensis protenditur: ubique diffusæ/ad præsentiam præsulis Christi bonus odor. Tantarum namque virtutum/afflatus cunctorum animos jucundissima percellerat, si nonnullos excipias/quorum animi diuturna vitiorum colluvie tabescentes ad omnem spiritus// [Fol. 2] sancti motionem obdormuerant. Et isti quidem si mortis ejus auctores fuerunt, ut/fama fuit et indicia quaedam propinanti veneni passim in vultu morientis/visa, non obscure probavere, sane cumulus accessit et ipsius votis, qui/semetipsum hostiam pro suis ovibus toties verbisfactisque offerebat; et/dignitati, quam superaddita sacra infulus martiris laures cohonestavit.

Utut est, arcana hæc sunt æterni Judicii [sic] arbitrio [sic] reservanda. Quæ certa/et perspecta fuere paucis commemoranda. Vexatus vir apostolicus diuturni taedium molestiæ, quam instantia quotidiana et sollicitudo ecclesiarum/ingenerabant, statim post paschales ferias aliquanto pejus habere coepit; / donec morbus ingravescens in levem quidem et quotidianum febrem erupit./Præsequebat ipsi animus velocem depositionem tabernaculi sui, ad quam/ut se melius accingeret, postridie Ascensionis Domini exercitia spiritualia/decem dierum aggressus est in ipso Collegio Societatis quo se post Ecclesia /rum Bengalensium visitationem receperat et ubi decem menses continuos/tunc agebat: verum feria tertia consequente cum celebraret deliquum pas/sus sacrificium interrompere cogitur nec nisi diebus octo supervixit. Mors/ejus quaquam expectationem nostram fefellit, morienti nequaquam/fuit Improvisa. Quicquid enim temporis liberum a febre ipsi fuit mente



de fixus in Deum orationi tribuebat, et in ipso delirio quod interdum febris aestus/exclabatur, in verba continentia sensum devotionis aliquem vel salutem/animarum spirantia erumpebat, atque adeo paulo antequam loquelae usum amitteret ipse sibi tacitus extremae unctionis administrandae formulam/suggestere et meditabundus usurpare auditus est. Sic inter omnium auspicia, post ultimam absolutionem et unctionem sacram, piam animam Creator/reddidit hora post meridiem tertia: feria tertia post Pentecosten. Concursus/ingens ad Collegium illico factus hominum variarum nationum quael multae locum/hunc incolunt. Exequiae postridie celebratae quas non tam apparatus exterior/quam communis pianctus et inusitati singultus honorum omnium posteriorum/memoriae commendabunt. Interea dum reliquae tanti praesulis ante aram/majorem Collegii Soc<sup>ti</sup>. tumultuatae in spem resurrectionis quiescunt. Christo/Dño sic disponente, ut qui spiritum Societatis adolescens hauserat, et constantissime tota vita tenuerat quamvis ab ipsa Societate Pontificio mandato/modicum distractus eidem moriens redderetur.

Rem gratam facere me putavi R<sup>mo</sup>. P<sup>ri</sup>. V<sup>ro</sup>. haec ipsi scribere, quorum fui/testis oculatus. Adde quod, pro eo affectu quo me modernum missionarium/fovebat defunctus antistes committere non debui ut hoc saltem memoris/animi pignus, et quasi vectigal ipsius memoriae omitterem. Nihil aliud adjiciam nisi deprecor R<sup>mo</sup>. P<sup>ri</sup>. V<sup>ro</sup>. [sic] ut me SS. apud Deum SS. suis commendatum habeat. Bengala Chandernagori. Kal./ Augusti anni MDCCXV

R<sup>mo</sup>. P<sup>ri</sup>. V<sup>ro</sup>.

Servus humilissimus et devotus in Christo  
filius.

Claudio Anton<sup>no</sup>. Barbier Missionarina  
Soc<sup>ti</sup>. JESV.

[Fol. 3]

Bengala, P. Barbier, de morte Ep<sup>is</sup>. Lalnez.  
E

Malabarica 1715  
Bengala. P. Barbier de  
morte Epi Lalnez.





# The Early Collectorate Records of Burdwan. 1786=1790.



ALTHOUGH Burdwan was one of the districts ceded to the East India Company by Nawab Kasim Ali in 1760, the earliest letter in the Collectorate records is dated June 1786. At that time Mr. John Kinloch was the Collector.\* He had been at Burdwan as Assistant from 1774 to 1776, and returned as Collector in April 1786. His duties comprised, besides the collection and transmission of the revenue, the offices of Magistrate and Judge of the Diwani Adalat. The other members of the Company's staff at Burdwan were: Thomas Brooke, Head Assistant and Registrar, the Hon'ble Charles A. Bruce, Second Assistant, and Dr. Collie, Surgeon. In May 1788, Thomas Marriott, who is mentioned in an earlier letter from Kinloch as the only European British subject, not in the Company's service, resident in the district, was appointed Superintendent of Pulbandhi (the maintenance of embankments, etc.) Before this he had been employed by Mr. Herbert Harries in the purchase of sugar for his works at Amidpore. The only other Europeans mentioned as resident at Burdwan were Captain Gordon, who was in command of the Rajah's household troops and was paid by the Rajah, and Mrs. Collie, whose death is recorded in a letter dated 2nd September 1787. In one of the letters a reference is made to Mr. Ashburnham, Chief of Burdwan in 1765.

Kinloch, who had been in bad health for some time and had been compelled to try a change of air at Serrampur, died on September 2nd, 1788, at "the Rumnah." Brooke remained in charge till December 30th, when Mr. Lawrence Mercer joined Burdwan as Collector. His former post, in which he was succeeded by Mr. G. F. Grand, was that of Judge of the Diwani Adalat at Patna: but he went to Burdwan from Kuch Behar, where he had been on special duty with Mr. Chouvet. In September 1789, Mr. J. H. Becher succeeded the Hon'ble Charles Bruce as Second Assistant.

The Rajah at this time was Tej Chand, who had succeeded his father, Tilak Chand, in 1771. His age at the period at which the records commence

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\* Burdwan then included, besides the present district (with the exception of the greater portion of the Aamul Sub-division), the whole of Hooghly and parts of Bankura, Howrah and Midnapore, and extended as far south as Rajganj, south-west of Calcutta.



was twenty-one; and he had only recently assumed the management of his estate, which, during his minority, was in the hands of his mother, Maharani Bishan Kumari. His real title was Maharaj Adhiraj Bahadur, conferred on him by a Firman from Shah Alum, dated 1184 Hijra (1771); but he is referred to in the records as "Rajah" or "Zemindar."

In 1786 the Dowager Maharani was living at Amboah, on a pension of Rs. 4,000 a month, which was paid to her from the Rajah's estate. In a letter dated May 25th, 1786, Kinloch informed the Governor-General that "dangerous and intriguing persons have gained the young Rajah's confidence and are leading him astray." This belief would account for Kinloch's attitude in the Board's dealing with the Rajah. On several occasions he acted as a buffer, much to his own detriment, and postponed the carrying out of coercive measures to compel the payment of outstanding balances.

In June 1786, the balances of revenue amounted to Rs. 1,76,462. Kinloch had been ordered to take extreme measures to realize this sum; but he risked the anger of the Board by representing that the Rajah had incurred heavy losses owing to the construction of the new military road, and that his demand for an enquiry was not unreasonable. But the Board did not agree; and Kinloch, acting under explicit orders, surrounded the Rajah's house with the result that the arrears were paid up within two days.

Two years later the Board ordered the Collector to place peons on the Rajah\* who had failed to pay his Magh khist; and, if this plan proved ineffectual, to attach as much of his personal property as would cover the balance due. Kinloch was compelled to take this final step; but he did not do so without making another reference to the Board. He received a severe reprimand for not having carried out the order of attachment in the first instance. When he proceeded to make the attachment, he complained that "the property in the house and its appurtenance is of too trifling a nature to deserve the time and trouble which it would be to make out a correct account." This is scarcely borne out by the list of property which he forwarded to the Board, and which contains such items as 7 elephants, 12 horses, 1 camel, 1 chariot, 1 silver howdah, 1 gold punkah and a large quantity of carpets, furniture and tents. After five days the Rajah paid up the khist and was allowed to go to the Presidency, taking with him a palankeen and such articles of clothing as the Collector considered necessary.

Kinloch's successors did not show the same friendly spirit towards the Zemindar. Brooke, who acted as Collector for a short time after Kinloch's death in 1788, complained that slights were put upon him and that the

\* From one of the letters it appears that this indignity was enhanced by the fact that the peons so employed were the Rajah's own servants.



Rajah persisted in avoiding an interview. He lost no time in resorting to the extreme measure of placing peons on the Zemindar's house. In November he adopted the same means to enforce the payment of a fine of Rs. 5,000, which the Board had inflicted. Mercer, who became Collector at the end of 1788, made similar complaints. He said that the Rajah would not visit the Collector, nor would he allow any of his Amla to do so; and he pointed out to the Board that the Zemindar, on the occasion of his frequent visits to the Presidency, had acquired the habit of transacting his business with Government direct, without reference to the Collector.

In June 1789 the disputes about the payment of the Rajah's land revenue culminated in the first act of dismemberment of his estate. Pergannah Mandalghat\* was put up for sale to cover balances of revenue due from him. Guru Das Sen, Jagmohan Mitra, Radha Kanta Ghose, Radha Charan Rai, Pitambar Gossain, and Thakur Das Mitra purchased the pergannah for Rs. 66,200 and an annual payment of Rs. 2,10,749. They bound themselves, also, to maintain the embankments in a state of repair. The purchasers stipulated, however, that Government should insure them against any augmentation of the revenue, "without which no man in his senses would risk his capital in so hazardous an adventure as the purchase of zemindari land."

In connection with this stipulation, there is a letter from G. C. Meyer, Acting Preparer of Reports to the Revenue Department, to John Shore, President of the Board of Revenue, in which the Permanent Settlement is fore-shadowed.

"I had only to lament that the wisdom of Government had not long ago interposed to render a stipulation so injurious to its political character unnecessary, consoling myself at the same time with a secret hope that the time was not far off when . . . the benevolent intentions of the British Legislature would be completely fulfilled by the establishment of a permanent system on the broad basis of Moderation and Justice. For my own part I think it incumbent upon me to declare in justification of myself that if the superintendence of these sales were not a part of my official duty which I am bound by the most solemn obligation to execute, I could not reconcile it to my conscience to be any longer even the involuntary instrument of so much evil as I am sure almost every sale conducted on the present principles must inevitably produce."

This sale caused very bitter feeling between the Rajah and Mercer. The former complained that, as the date of sale had been changed, respectable people who would have bid did not do so; with the result that the price

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\* This pergannah was added to the estate in 1741 by Maharajah Chitra Sen.



realized for the *pergannah* was altogether inadequate. He also went to the Presidency and represented to the Board that the sale would not have taken place, if Mercer had not delayed in communicating the Board's orders. Mercer, while protesting against the Rajah's ingratitude, followed Kinloch in attributing his conduct to the evil advisers by whom he was surrounded. In March 1789 Mercer had succeeded in obtaining orders that Dyal Chand, one of the principal of these, must quit the district and not return to it without the Governor-General's special permission.

The sale of Mandalghat was only the beginning. The balances outstanding were Rs. 1,65,971, and Mercer was ordered to submit a statement of other properties which he recommended for sale. In June 1789 he was told to make preparations for eliminating the *zemindar* from the business of collection and settling the district with the farmers and *taluqdars*. The Rajah was to be given an allowance sufficient only for his maintenance.\* Tej Chand, however, frustrated this design by spreading a report that he was about to go to the Presidency to settle the *bandobast*, and that Government had ruled that no interference from outsiders would be tolerated. This rumour had the effect of frightening away persons who might have been ready to offer themselves as farmers, with the result that the settlement was again made with the Rajah. But in May of the following year there was again a large outstanding balance; and two more *pergannahs*, Azmatshahi and Mozuffershahi, were advertised for sale. In June 1790 Mercer suggested that the Rajah should be charged interest on balances due, at the rate of one per cent. per month; but this proposal did not recommend itself to the Board.

The Rajah's letters are full of complaints of his hard lot. In May 1789 he wrote that inundations and want of rain had so ruined the district that he had been compelled to deprive himself of the common necessities of life and raise money on his clothes and household furniture. Mercer reported that this was an exaggeration, as the Rajah was spending large sums in building † although over three lakhs were due to him from the farmers for the previous year and he had very little chance of recovering this sum.

In 1790 the Rajah got into trouble over one of his debtors, Dwarka Nath, who took refuge from a debt of Rs. 57,000 in the Danish Settlement of Fredericsnagore (Serrampur). Tej Chand sent one of his *vakil's*, Dowlat Singh, in search of Dwarka. The result of the *vakil's* visit was that Mr. J. Boalth, Attorney-at-Law, "insisted in a most injurious and menacing

\* Five per cent. on the nett collections, from which he was to provide his mother's pension of Rs. 4,000 a month.

† The 109 temples at Nawabhat, four miles from Burdwan, were built by Maharani Bishun Kumari in 1788. For a view of these temples see *Bingol: Past and Present*, Vol. III., p. 3.



manner on the delivery of the debtor to him, and not to the Collector of Burdwan." A copy of a letter which Boalth wrote to the Governor, the Honourable O. Bie, is in the records. This is an extract:—

"Fully convinced that the Danish Government never grants protection for frauds of such nature and that Serrampur is not an Asylum for public cheats do I hereby on behalf of the Rajah apply to the whole Council with humble Petition . . . . . At the same time do I hereby render the Chief and Council responsible for the refusal of this my equitable pretension.

"I must confess to the Royal Board that I don't ignore the weighty reasons which have already procured this cheat so much support in this place, and I shall not neglect with incontestable proofs to make them known."

Boalth's offence was aggravated by his writing also to the Rajah, "strictly against the standing order of this Government (of Serrampur) that nobody shall correspond with natives of that distinction without the knowledge of the Chief and to whom the contents of the correspondence must be imparted."

On the complaint of Bie to the Company an enquiry was held. The examination of Dowlat Singh, who repudiated Boalth's letter, is given at length in the records. The Rajah also denied that the letter had been written under his instructions; but he was compelled to apologize, and his conduct in communicating direct with the Chief of a Foreign Settlement was made the subject of a very unpleasant letter from the Governor-General. In the end Boalth took the whole blame upon himself. He was ordered to "quit the settlement and repair to Tranquebar."

Dwarka Nath was made over to the Collector of Burdwan. His name appears from May 1790 to February 1791 in the monthly statements of persons in confinement at the Kahcheri for arrears of revenue.

Maharani Bishan Kumari, Tej Chand's mother, had quarrelled with her son. Her attitude towards him is described in a petition which she submitted to Government in March 1789.

"The affairs and disorder of the Burdwan Raj are well known to you. The Maharajah is a child . . . . . and other evil-inclined men have connected themselves with him, give him bad advice and have ruined him. I cannot sufficiently describe the distress they impose on the Ryotts of the country. I know not what may some time or other happen and I am always alarmed. I have, in order to increase his posterity, provided for four marriages . . . . . that the Maharajah may comprehend the affairs of his country and transact them with my Advice, so that the names of his ancestors may not be forgotten or disgraced."

There is a demi-official letter, dated 1st December 1787, from Kinloch to John Short, at Calcutta, in which complaints are made of the Rani's



interference in the collections. The copyist's version of the end of the letter is :

" Will you come up and see us in the day of mirth. I mean about the 25th. I shall be glad to see you. Short and you will see Black and White all my happy."

In January 1788 Edward Fletcher, Resident at Santipore, wrote to the Collector complaining of the high-handed interference of the Rani's Dewan with the weavers of his factory. Her servants had seized a weaver of Guptipara and confined him in her house. When Fletcher demanded his release, they denied that he was there. Fletcher then put peons on the house with the result that the next day the weaver was produced. But he was outcasted through the influence of the Rani.

The only building at Burdwan which belonged to the Company was the Factory house, in which the Collector lived. The business of the Company was carried on in a rented house. Mercer complained that this was very small and very old, and in September 1789, applied for permission to construct a building. The Governor-General sanctioned Rs. 10,000 for this purpose. The Collectorate, Diwani and Faujdari Adalats were to be accommodated in one room, a second was allowed for the jail, and a third and fourth for the records. In 1788, the monthly cost of the Company's establishment at Burdwan was only Rs. 4,985. The items of expenditure are shown in the accounts.

J. Kinloch, Collector and Judge of the Dewani Adalat...	...	Pay	Rs.	1,500
		House rent	"	150
Thomas Brooke, Head Assistant and Registrar	...	Pay	"	500
Honourable Charles A. Bruce, Second Assistant	...	Pay	"	400
		Munshi Allowance	"	30
Dr. Colile, Surgeon	...	Pay	"	200
		House rent	"	100
Allowance to the Dewan and Officers of the Collectorate	...		"	580
" " " Darogah and Officers of the Dewani Adalat	...		"	556
To J. Kinloch, Magistrate, for Faujdari	...		"	250
Jail and Cutcherry Rent	...		"	100
Factory Sepoy Guard	...		"	619

In addition to the allowances for his establishment, the Collector received commission on his collections of revenue, at the rate of one per cent. on the first ten laks and a half per cent. on the remainder.

The officials at Burdwan were frequently in trouble with the authorities at the Presidency. Kinloch, who was well disposed to the Rajah, was taken to task for suggesting remissions of revenue, for making a tour of his district in order to ascertain the effects of the flood of 1787, for appointing as Dewan



a nominee of the Rajah, for not resorting immediately to attachment in order to realize over-due revenue, and for delaying reports. On the last account, in May 1788, the Board threatened to suspend him for unwarrantable neglect.\* In 1787, after being censured three times, he was informed that his reprehensible conduct (in neglecting to attach the Rajah's personal property) had been reported to the Governor-General, whose attention had also been drawn to the state of the Burdwan collections.

On Kinloch's death, Brooke reported a deficiency of Rs. 80,000 in the treasury, but in a subsequent report reduced the amount to Rs. 38,000. He explained this action, but not to the satisfaction of the Board, who fined him one hundred rupees. They also ordered him to pay the cost of the Factory Sepoy guard for two months, which would have been equivalent to a fine of Rs. 1,238; but he evaded this imposition at the Rajah's expense.

Mercer was more fortunate than his predecessors; but in May 1790 he was threatened with a fine of Rs. 1,000 for delay in submitting his list of prices current.

There are a few letters relating to the conduct of the Company's servants and the rules of the service. On the 6th March 1789 the Governor-General issued an order "precluding all Collectors of Revenue and Customs from concern in Commercial Transactions, or in the management of any Banking House or Agency, from and after the first day of May next." The Board's objection to a local enquiry in order to ascertain the effects of a flood on the crops is mentioned elsewhere. In January 1789, when requiring Kinloch to supply information on which a general settlement of the district for a term of years might be based, they stipulated that no local scrutiny of the conditions should be made. There is an order from the Governor-General, dated 25th January 1790, that every Civil Servant, who proposed to return to Europe, must resign his appointment before leave would be granted.

In a letter dated 9th October 1787, Bruce gives an account of a great flood which occurred on Monday, 1st October.

"The town is totally destroyed, not a vestige of a mud house remaining, and even those built of brick are many of them fallen or so entirely damaged that a longer residence in them becomes dangerous. Many people have lost their lives and a great number of cattle drowned. Nothing but the banks of the tanks remain for the reception of every living animal."

The whole district suffered, but especially the southern pergunahs. The flood was followed by an outbreak of cattle disease. A later letter draws the attention of the Board to the "effects to be apprehended from

\* Letter dated 16th May 1788. A report, which had been due on 20th January, was still pending.



the contagion of the Carnage which is so dreadful in many places as to threaten even a Plague to the inhabitants."

At this time the Rajah was responsible for the peace of the district. The Thanadars were paid by grants of land, but the Zemindar collected from them an annual tax of Rs. 5,000. This tax, which was the cause of great hardship to the ryots, was abolished at Mercer's instance in 1790. The Rajah was allowed to deduct from the annual revenue payable by him the sum of Rs. 1,03,360, for the payment of his Nagdi establishment. In June 1787 the Company reduced the allowance to Rs. 50,000, which was considered sufficient for the maintenance of a force of Pykes, or village Watchmen, throughout the district. The Rajah's responsibility was by no means nominal. In 1790 he was made to pay half the amount of a remittance of Rs. 30,000 from the Birbhum treasury to Calcutta. This was seized by dacoits in Thana Manirampur; and the Rajah's police failed to recover any part of the sum.\* The Rajah complained that he had received no intimation of the despatch of the treasure, so that he could not realize the amount due, as he would ordinarily have done, by the levy of a fine on the pergannah responsible.

In a letter, dated 30th September 1788, Thomas Brooke, acting Collector, quotes an instance of the incapacity of the Rajah's Police. A dacoit named Jeebna had laid waste with fire whole villages in Pergannahs Sherghar and Sen Pahari, levying contributions and murdering and plundering the inhabitants.

"Forty of the Rajah's Pykes were sent out with twenty of the Factory Sepoys. At the first engagement the Pykes withdrew and for want of pay returned to Burdwan, and if it had not been for the subsequent assistance sent by Mr. Leslie, Magistrate of Ramgur, it is probable the whole of our Sepoys would have been cut off and Jeebna never taken."

The Company had no troops at Burdwan at this time: but Kinloch maintained, for the protection of the treasury, a force of one hundred sepoy, including a small drum and fife band. The monthly cost, which he charged in his treasury accounts, was Rs. 619. This payment appears to have been quite unauthorised; but no objection to it was taken until Kinloch's death in September 1788. Brooke, who succeeded him, asked permission to keep on this force; and suggested that, as the Board objected to the monthly expenditure and it was utterly impossible for him to defray the expenses from his personal property, the sepoy should be paid by the Rajah from his allowance for Pykes, but should not be under his control. This simple solution of the difficulty recommended itself to the Board, but not to the Rajah, who

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\* This incident is mentioned in Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*.



found that he was expected to pay the force, in addition to his own establishment, for the two months which had elapsed since Kinloch's death. His protests, however, were in vain, and he was made to reduce his establishment of Pykes to the extent necessary to pay the Company's force.

Another of the Rajah's duties was the Pulbandhi, the maintenance of embankments, etc. For this purpose he was allowed a deduction of revenue amounting to Rs. 60,000 a year. In a letter, dated 26th October 1787, Kinloch complimented the Rajah's family on their administration of the Pulbandhi; but early in the following year he was compelled to apply for an extra grant from the Board of Rs. 80,000. In May 1788 the Company appointed Mr. Thomas Marriott Superintendent of Pulbandhi. There are several letters from him, drawing attention to the ruinous state of the embankments and asking for funds to prosecute the necessary repairs; and one from Mercer, dated 28th June 1790, in which he complains that the Rajah persistently ignores his requests to take in hand the repairs to the bandhs of Radhanagar.

The "New Military Road" from Midnapore to Berhampore, through Jahanabad, Burdwan and Katwa, was in charge of a Superintendent, Lieutenant John Rankin. The road was only fifteen feet wide and was not raised sufficiently to prevent flooding in the rainy season. The ryots cut canals across it and dammed the ditches, to suit their idea of a proper water-supply. Cultivation extended on both sides up to the narrow ditches which bordered the road. Rankin pointed out the necessity of reserving from cultivation a broad strip on either side. In 1788 the Governor-General in Council passed orders that the Zemindar would be held responsible for any loss caused by the ryots' irrigation schemes.

The postal arrangements were confined to a dāk service between Hooghly and Burdwan. One Munshi, one Jemadar and sixteen Peons, disposed at six stations, were employed at a cost of Rs. 105 a month. The service was instituted by Brooke in 1788. There is a letter from Kinloch complaining that a letter from the Khalsa, dated 1786, was not delivered to him until 23rd March 1787.

The Board of Revenue was a hard taskmaster. After the severe flood of October 1787, Kinloch made a tour of part of his district in order to ascertain the amount of the damage, and supported the Rajah's request for an enquiry into the state of the crops in the pergannahs which had suffered most from the inundation. But the Board refused to hear of the suspension of any part of the revenue demand on account of the flood, and showed some annoyance at the mere suggestion of a local investigation. In December they wrote:—

"We do not think it necessary that you should make a circuit of your district for the purpose of ascertaining the losses sustained, the Right



Honourable the Governor-General in Council having on a late occasion declared they cannot admit of a temporary calamity constituting any just ground for Government granting remission on a settled and moderate Jumma, it being under such circumstances incumbent on the zemindars and not on the Government to grant such relief as may be wanted to the ryots."

The Rajah then complained of his inability to enforce his demands on his ryots. Kinloch said that he must be allowed to do this, if he was to collect the entire revenue, although it would bring misery upon the people. But the Board, while refusing any remission, told Kinloch that it was his duty "to see that the demands of the farmers and zemindars upon the ryots are not enforced with a severity which the engagements or circumstances of the latter do not allow." Before this they had given him instructions "not to interfere to prevent the Rajah from enforcing payment of his just demands from his farmers." The Governor-General directed that "the Rajah may be expressly required to grant such a remission to the Ryots as will be adequate to the purpose of their relief, and to suspend from the demand from his Renters a proportionate amount thereof to be recovered at a future period." But, as this remission was not extended to the revenue due from the Rajah, it can have had little effect as a measure of relief.

In a letter, dated 22nd July 1789, from the Public Department, Council Chamber, the Governor-General in Council announced his intention of preventing the continuance of "the practice which has subsisted for several years (notwithstanding the prohibiting regulations of Government) of exporting natives from this country to be sold as slaves in other parts of India." A proclamation was forwarded with the letter, but this is not found in the correspondence.

There is a report from Kinloch to John Shore, dated March 1787, on the relations between the Zemindar, the farmers and the ryots. He says:—

"I do not find that any taxes have been imposed by the Zemindar within the last three years, nor have the ryots ever preferred any serious complaints of undue exactions being levied by the farmers or their under-tenants, and from the mode of collecting the revenues in the Mofassil I may venture to assert from the above reasons that no general oppressive acts are exercised by the farmers that require the interposition of Government, as the existing complaints are easily remedied in the Mal Adalat, being only disputes of such a nature as must ever inevitably arise between the under-tenants and the ryots."

But this report is not borne out by subsequent letters, in which references are made to attempts on the part of the Rajah to increase a Taluqdar's rent and to levy "salami." In August 1789 Mercer drew attention to the



unauthorised collection by the Zemindar of the "Marocha," or tax upon marriage, and an order of prohibition followed.

The Company had many factories in the district. The Residents at these factories were concerned only with the commercial enterprise of the Company, and were under the control of the Board of Trade; but they received remittances from the Burdwan treasury for the expenses of their establishments and advances to their weavers. The protection which they afforded their own people sometimes clashed with the authority of the Collector. Mr. Wall at Keerpoy, is represented as a particular offender in this respect; and the slightly bitter correspondence which passed between him and the Collector at the beginning of 1787 ended in an appeal to the President of the Board of Revenue to pass a resolution compelling Residents to furnish the Collector with a list of the weavers and Tootia ryots who had taken advances, and to refer all disputes to him. Wall was evidently a man of strong measures. When he found that the orders he had issued to his Aurungs, prohibiting manufacturers from receiving advances from outside merchants, were disregarded, he sent out peons to destroy the thread in the looms of weavers who had received such advances. Kinloch also objected, very naturally, to the action of Mr. Crommelin, of Ghatal, in listening to grievances of the ryots against the Collector, and representing them to Government. The powers of the Residents to protect their dependents were evidently large: as Kinloch complains that a murderer, in the employ of one of the Aurungs, would probably evade arrest under cover of the Company's regulations.

There is a letter, dated 9th December 1787, from Kinloch to Wall, asking the latter to release a gomasta whom he had imprisoned and to refer all cases of complaint to the Collector.

In March 1787 Brooke was sent to enquire into the disputes between the Resident at Ghatal and the farmers. After completion of this enquiry, an order was issued that:—

"The Tootia ryots, who shall receive the Company's advances, are not, on account of balances of revenue, to be seized by the farmers or confined or molested by peons being placed over them; but the Izaradar shall prefer his complaint in writing to the Chief of the Factory."

A list of the Residents mentioned in the letters is given at the end of this note. The extent of the commercial transactions of the factories may be gauged by the remittances from the treasury. Keerpoy received Rs. 1,35,628 and Haripal Rs. 94,416 every two months. In January 1790 the Resident at Radhanagar wrote that, if the Rajah would repair the embankments, he would be able to provide 1,000 maunds of raw silk, and 1,200 in the ensuing year. The monthly cost of establishment at Keerpoy was only Rs. 500.



In April 1788 Kinloch was told to buy rice for the Presidency, where there was some scarcity. The Honourable Charles Bruce was deputed to ascertain what amount would be available. At the same time, in order to discourage hoarding, an order was issued to the Thanadars :—

"As I understand that there are several Beparis Merchants and others who have made considerable hoards of grain which they will not sell, you will therefore publish throughout the jurisdiction of your Tannadarry that it is ordered that all such persons having grain shall give an account of the quantity of the same and any one failing in this or giving in a false account shall, upon proof of the same, be liable to have his rice seized and forfeited to Government."

This proclamation was the result of an order from the Governor-General that if any people were found hoarding undue quantities of grain, it was to be seized and sold at public auction; and it was left to the Collector's discretion whether the amount so realised should be paid to the owner or applied to the relief of the distressed. Bruce attached large quantities of grain; but in May orders came from Government to release it, "upon obligations being received from the proprietors that they will send it to the market." The prices ascertained by Bruce were from 45 to 55 seers of rice, and 80 to 105 of paddy, per sicca rupee. But at the end of June there was scarcity throughout the district, and the price of rice rose to 10 seers for the rupee in the southern pergannahs, which had suffered most from the flood of 1787.

There are a few references to indigo. In February 1788 orders were issued to the Collectors of Bihar, Burdwan and Chittagong to afford protection and assistance to Mr. William Boyce, who was engaged in a plan for carrying on manufacture on his own account, the Company to be given preference in the purchase of the produce. In a letter, dated 24th March, Kinloch informed Boyce, who had asked if he could be allowed to hold indigo lands in his own name, that the Collector was forbidden to grant land in farm to any European. In June 1790 there was some correspondence between the Collector and Robert Jennings, Indigo Planter at Ghyretty. The latter had had trouble over the sowing of Indigo, and wished to settle the disputes by means of his own Amins; but Mercer replied that he could not delegate his powers as District Magistrate.

The jail at Burdwan was used chiefly for people who were in arrears of revenue. The Collector sent to the Board a monthly statement of persons in confinement. Gyaram Mitter, the farmer of Ghatal, was confined in May 1791 for arrears amounting to Rs. 39,144, and in March 1793 he was still in jail. The list for May 1792 includes the name of one of the Zemindars of Mandalghat, whose debt was over half a lakh. The wives of Rajah



Chitter Sen\* also appear as debtors in 1791. They underwent imprisonment by proxy.

Occasional notices of deserters appear in the records. In June 1788 Thomas Quennal and Abraham Barwell, of the 5th Battalion, were arrested by the Thanadar of Poobdul and made over to the Military authorities. There is a description, dated May 1789, of William Whiteman, who had deserted from the 1st Grenadier Company at Berhampur. He was arrested near Burdwan and sent to Berhampur, where a Court Martial was held on 5th June by Captain Cox, Lieutenants D'Auvergne, Hancour and Falvey and Ensign Stuart. Whiteman was found guilty of absenting himself without leave from 22nd May to 3rd June, and sentenced to receive three hundred lashes. In May 1790 two other deserters, William Young and Thomas Wellbeloved, of the 5th Battalion, were caught in Burdwan. They were convicted at a Court Martial held at Berhampur, but the sentence is not noted.

On 1st July 1789 Lord Cornwallis passed orders for a census. "His Lordship is aware that this statement cannot be prepared with any accuracy without minute tedious enquiries, but seeing objections to these, he wishes only to have conjectural estimates from the Collectors on the spot." Mercer lost no time in making his "conjectural estimate," and on the 4th returned the population of the district at 700,000. This was a very modest figure indeed. A year afterwards he doubled his former estimate, basing it on Major Rennell's figures :—

"The District of Burdwan contains 8,000 villages which are divided into 3 classes, the first is supposed to contain 200, the second 50 and the third 5 houses, and admitted there are 4 persons to each house, the number of souls in the district will be 1,360,000, or nearly 263 inhabitants to each square mile."

In April 1788 the Honourable Charles Bruce was deputed to investigate the claims of the Priors of Bandel to certain lands. He sent Kinloch a long report, which is to be found in the records.

There is a letter, dated 21st April, from the Secretary to Government, saying that the principal native inhabitants of the Company's territories were desirous of bearing testimony to Mr. Hastings' merits, and giving permission to Judges, Collectors and Residents to receive and transmit such testimonials when offered.

In addition to the subjects referred to in this note, reports on the following are to be found in the records of these four years :—

1790.—The cultivation and manufacture of cotton.

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\* The predecessor and cousin of Maharajah Tilak Chand, Tej Chand's father.



June 1788.—The coinage of the district and the "batta" allowed on the various kinds of rupees.

February 1790.—A proposal to settle the district for a period of ten years.

June 1788.—The land tenures.

June 1787.—The resumption of allowances to the Rajah for the Dasahara Puja and the Puneah.

June 1787.—The resumption of part of the Rajah's collection charges. (These were cut down from Rs. 68,720 to 28,720.)

May 1790.—Abkari. (The Abkari Mahal for 1789 was Rs. 3,274. Mercer reported that a still could produce 80 quarts of spirit in the twenty-four hours and make a nett profit of annas thirteen.)

March 1789.—The liquidation of the Rajah's Deori debts. (Proposal to sell the pergannahs of Ambooh, Nully, Sain Pahary and Monohurshy to Messrs. Vansittart, Hinginson, Bathoe, Lewes and Fleetwood, and Huzury Mull and Dalchund.)

The Salt administration.

The encouragement of the cultivation of the mulberry.

February 1790.—The purchase of bullocks for military transport. (Extract from the copyist's version of a letter from Brooke to the Collector of Midnapore: "I have been able to procure two hundred and although they are of Pharoah's lean kind, they are very best that this district afforded.")

May 1789.—A proposal to discontinue the system of keeping each Zemindar's land in one Collector's jurisdiction, and to include isolated villages in the district in which they were situated.

September 1789.—Proceedings in the Mal Adalat in a suit brought by the Ranis of Maharajah Chitter Sen against Maharajah Tej Chand.

There are also two volumes of letters written by Jas. Sherburn and C. Keating, Collectors of Birbhum, to Arthur Heselrige, Assistant at Bishenpoor. They cover a period from June 1788 to October 1789.

List of persons who corresponded with the Collector of Burdwan, 1786-1790.

Lord Cornwallis, *Governor-General*.

Honourable John Macpherson, *Governor-General*.



John Shore, <i>President</i>	}	<i>Board of Revenue.</i>
Thomas Graham.		
J. Mackenzie.		
R. Johnson,		
J. Evelyne.		
Edward Hay, <i>Secretary to Government.</i>		
William Cowper, <i>President of Committee of Revenue.</i>		
John Stables,	"	"
G. C. Meyer, <i>Acting Preparer of Reports to the Revenue Department.</i>		
Lieut.-Col. the Hon. O. Bie, <i>Chief of Fredericksnagore.</i>		
John Sherburn ...	...	Collector of Birbhum.
Charles Keatinge ...	...	" " "
C. Burrowes ...	...	" " Midnapore.
J. Redfern ...	...	" " Nadia.
Thomas Short, Esq. ...	...	Calcutta.
Lieut.-Col. Peter Murray	...	Adjutant-General.
" John Forbes.		
Mr. John Cheap ...	...	Resident at Sonamukhl.
" Wall ...	...	" " Keerpoy and Chandrakona.
" Charles Crommelin	...	" " Ghatal.
" Edward Fletcher ...	...	" " Santipore.
" Robert Gosling ...	...	" " Keerpoy.
" James Frushard ...	...	" " Gonotes.
" Edward Close ...	...	" " Rangamutty.
" Leonard Collings ...	...	" " Hurrecpaul.
" C. S. Collinson ...	...	" " Bauliah.
" P. Touchet ...	...	" " Radhanagore.
" R. Willcox ...	...	" " Goliagore.
Col. Johnson ...	...	Berhampur.
Captain John Rankin ...	...	Superintendent, New Road.
William Dent ...	...	Salt Agent at Tamluk.
Thomas Lyon (appointed in 1788 "to make a canal of communication between the turns of the river near Cossimbazaar.")		
William Boyce ...	...	Indigo Planter.
Robert Jennings ...	...	" " at Ghyretty.
Thomas Marriott ...	...	Superintendent of Pulbandhi.
J. Telsingh ...	...	Chinsurah.



## A Letter of the Marquis of Dalhousie to Sir Richmond Shakespear.

Private      Govt House  
 March 2<sup>d</sup> 1854.

Dear Sir Richmond,

You will have seen  
 in the public journals  
 reports regarding the alleged  
 arrival of a Russian  
 force near to Shiver  
 From this side we can  
 obtain no authentic  
 in:



intelligence on the subject.  
From since the minister  
sends news of such a force  
having been 4 months ago  
within 10 marches of Khiva.  
Even this tale does not bear  
the appearance of being true.  
worthy.

But the mere existence  
of such rumours creates  
a certain agitation in  
England; & although I  
do



do not think they are  
any more alarmed as to  
the probability of Russian  
invasion of India than  
~~they~~ we are here, yet  
I think they look to it  
as a possibility to be cared  
for. In this view I have  
been desirous of obtaining all  
the addition we have been  
so largely made to our  
knowledge



4  
knowledge & experience, since  
the last excitement I  
preached on this subject  
in 1838.

Nobody is better  
qualified to give both  
information & an authori-  
tative opinion on the  
question of a Russian  
invasion by way of  
Cahul and Khiva  
than yourself. I  
venture



venture, therefore, to ask  
you to do me the  
favour of communicating  
to me your opinions, or  
the result of your experience  
gained in those  
countries.

The Seal  
for it in this form  
I presume you will  
not



object to its being put  
upon record at the  
proper time.

I am sorry that the  
death of the Regent of  
Laplace disturbed your  
plans as well as  
ours.

Yrs very truly

Wm R. Shakespeare  
D. H. H. H.



# An Appendix of Original Documents to "The Three Surgeons of Patna."

1.

COSSIMBUZAR,  
3rd April 1763.

TO STANLAKE BATSON, ESQ.

SIR,

The many daily occurrences here and reports convinces me our Trade and everything will speedily be put a stop to if some measures are not taken to prevent it. There is an order passed for destroying all the Mulberry Trees in the country, and they have actually commenced putting it in execution, so that we can expect no Silk or Silk Piece Goods for the ensuing year if it's not put an immediate stop to. I hear there is the same Order concerning all the Cotton Plants which will be as Detrimental to the white Cloth Trade. It's publickly talked at the City that the Nabob is determined to get rid of us one way or another, that he has Money enough to pay his Troops Longer than we shall be able to stay in the Country without Trade, for which reason he'll destroy all the produce of the Country which may furnish Trade, for it's all one to him whether we are in the Country or not, if we won't pay him any Duties, and he'll either oblige us to do that or quit the Country.

Several Parties of Horse and Foot have arrived at the City within these two or three Days, and great Preparations making for Defence in case our Army comes this Way, as it is reported they are coming, and that they had marched a little way and were recalled. I thought it proper to acquaint you of the Order concerning the Mulberry Trees and Cotton, as I think the Governor and Council should be acquainted therewith by which they'll perceive how our Trade is likely to be destroyed. The Tomtoms have actually been about with the orders and several People sent to destroy all the Mulberry fields. Should you think with me it's necessary to acquaint the Board with these things, shall be obliged to you if you'd acquaint me with the result.

I am with Respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servt,

JNO. CHAMBERS.\*

P. S.—I think it would be highly necessary to have a few more Seapoys at this Factory. Reports run very high and insolent and I believe was the Army to march we should be surrounded at this Factory. Therefore should be glad to have a few Seapoys to defend ourselves. The Arms of the Seapoys here are very bad, I wish you would apply for some.

\* John Chambers was subsequently captured and taken to Patna, where he and Lyon were massacred.



2.

TO THE HON'BLE HENRY VANSITTART, ESQ.

COSSIMBUZAR

*The 27th June 1763.*

SIR,

The Phousdar of Rajamall having seized the Dawks and Letters\* dispatched the 25th Inst. and made them Prisoners, all the Dawks are fled from their Posts and all the Letters dispatched since are returned.

We should have wrote a general Letter, but as it is very late I just take the Liberty to acquaint you of it, as also that we have had no Letters in from Patna these two Days.

I am with Respect,

Sir,

Your most humble Servt.

JNO. CHAMBERS.

3.

CALCUTTA.

*The 6th July 1763.*

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

Accompanying this we beg leave to lay before you the Proceedings of a Committee which we held the 4th Inst., containing such articles as appears to us best calculated for restoring the Peace of the country and securing the Company's Interests, and which we therefore think it necessary the Nabob Meerjaffier Aly Cawn should agree to before he is reinstated in the government.

We are with Respect

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) S. BATSON.

WM. BILLERS.

JOHN CARTIER.

Received a letter from Mr. Johnstone at Burdwan dated the 5th enclosing the following Note from Mr. Motte.

KEWGONG, 4th July 1763.

SIR,

I have just received Advice, that yesterday Mr. Amyatt's party on their return from Mongheer, were attacked and put to the sword by Mahomed Tucky Khan. Two Gentlemen, much wounded, are escaped to Mahutter, and I have sent Plankeens to fetch them hither, who they are I know not, but they are in a most miserable Condition.

I hear also Cossimbuzar Factory is surrounded.

I am

Sir,

Your most humble Servt.,

T. MOTTE.

\* The Rev. J. Long notes that the dāk from Calcutta to Benares at this period was *via* Agraalip, Munhedabad, Rajmahal, Sikrigali, Bhaglpur, etc.



4.

Received the following Note from Cossimbuzar dated the 4th July at 10 at Night.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

We yesterday informed you of the Fate of Mr. Amyatt and his Party. We were then in Expectation of being surrounded, and now Forces are all around us with Cannon, and we expect to be attacked before Morning; we shall do our best to keep the Factory till Relief can be given us; to which purpose we have wrote to Amboa, or where the party reported to be marched may be.

6 or 7,000 Men and 8 pieces of  
Cannon more are on the  
road tis said . . .

We are,  
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,  
Your most obedi. humble Servts.  
(Sd.) JOHN CHAMBERS,  
T. P. LYON.

5.

FORT WILLIAM,  
the 8th July 1763.

TO MAJOR THOMAS ADAMS.

SIR,

We have been reduced to the necessity of declaring war against the Nabob Cossim Aly Cawn for the Reasons which you will observe in the enclosed Proclamation and which containeth likewise an Acknowledgement of the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn, whom we intend to re-instate. The whole Army has therefore taken the Field, and we must desire that you will prosecute with Vigor every measure, Offensive and Defensive, which may tend to bring the war to a speedy conclusion and firmly to establish the Nabob Meer Jaffier in the Government.

For these purposes we desire first that you will cause him to be proclaimed at the Head of the Army.

You will then proceed on with him to Moorshedabad and after placing him on the musnud, cause him again to be proclaimed in the usual Form.

When the Nabob is thus far fixed in the Government it will be necessary that he give his attention to the settlement of the countries which may have come in our possession with a View of obtaining supplies of Money and drawing to his standard the Assistance of the Officers and Inhabitants of the Country. This last Circumstance of making alliances, and gaining over to his Friendship some of the principal subjects, is a Matter which requires his most immediate and best Consideration; and We must therefore beg that you will assist, and urge the Nabob not to be delated in this Business.

For your further proceeding towards Monghir to effect the entire Reduction of Cossim Aly Cawn, you must be guided by the Circumstances which may occur in the Execution of the foregoing part of these Instructions.

We have ordered Mahomed Aly Beg the Nabob's, late Collector of the Dacca Districts to be sent a Prisoner with the Army, with a View that you may obtain in Exchange for him the Release of some of our Gentlemen, who are now in the Power of Cossim Aly Cawn.

Agreeably to a resolution of Council We have likewise ordered Coja Petrusse to accompany the Army, and We desire you will keep him under such Restraint and make such use of him, as you may think necessary for the good of the service.



We have directed Mr. Johnstone at Burdwan to remit to your paymaster the Amount of his Collections for defraying the Expences of the Army.

Major Carnac is appointed to proceed and take upon him the Command of Capt. Knox's Detachment at Burdwan, and enclosed is a Copy of his Instructions.

We are concerned to add to these Instructions that by a Letter received last Night from the Nabob there is the greatest Reason to fear our Forces at Patna have met with a very severe Check. It therefore becomes necessary that you do proceed with the greatest Caution and be careful to leave nothing in your rear which may in any manner endanger the safety of the Settlement.

Having a thorough reliance on your Prudence, Courage and good Conduct, We have only further to wish that your operations may be crowned with success.

We are with Esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient, Humble Servant,

(Signed) H. VANSITTART,

*Secy. Council.*

6.

FORT WILLIAM,

*The 8th July 1763.*

TO MAJOR JOHN CARNAC.

SIR,

We have been reduced to the necessity of declaring War against the Nabob Cossim Aly Cawn for the reasons which you will observe in the enclosed Proclamation and which containeth an Acknowledgement of the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn whom We intend to reinstate. The whole Army has therefore taken the Field to prosecute with Vigor every Measure which may tend to bring the War to a speedy Conclusion, and firmly to establish Nabob Meer Jaffier in the Government.

Agreeably to the Resolution of the 2nd Instant you will proceed to Burdwan and take upon you the Command of the Detachment now under Captain Knox and as soon as you join it you will cause the Nabob to be proclaimed at the Head of the Troops.

This Detachment we originally intended should proceed and take Possession of Beerboon and afterwards if necessary join the Body of the Army at Moorshedabad. But as the Circumstances of Affairs are since much altered, you must guide yourself entirely by the Orders which you may receive from Major Adams.

As we have great reason to apprehend there may be an Irruption made from the Western parts of the Burdwan Province, We must recommend your collecting and transmitting to us all possible Intelligence.

We depend entirely on your good Conduct and heartily wish you success.

We are with Esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient h<sup>ble</sup> Servants,

(Signed) H. VANSITTART

*Secy. Council.*



7.

*Copy of a Letter from Lieut. Glen to Major Carnac.*

CAMP AT DINICHATT 13 July 1763.

TO MAJOR JOHN CARNAC,

I marched from Burdwan the 9th instant and arrived within one Mile of Cutwa where I received Orders to join Captain Lang, but could not march past Cutwa being in the rout of Mahomed Tucky Cawn's Troops, but was obliged to attempt it, which we did yesterday about 12 o'clock and, as I had foreseen, they fell upon our rear in a Village, which brought on an Engagement about 3 o'clock P.M., which lasted till sun set, when, after several Times being reduced to few men and the gun, we got the best of it, and drove them by heaps headlong into the River and then pursued the rest till dark, they say there was about 6 or 7,000 Horse and a great Number of Foot with fire Arms, they behaved bravely. But our Superior fire and the advantage we had of the ground gave it in our favour, for, although our Seapoys behaved with the greatest resolution, inspite of fire, they were three times broke and as often rallied again. But the Gun was what saved us all, for we fired above 80 rounds and 20 Grape out of her in less than three Hours, we made a great slaughter among the Enemy, for the Ditches were lined with dead Bodys, and our People have got several of their Horses and many are lying killed on the spot. We have lost but few, I believe they don't amount to 30 Men killed and wounded, which is nothing considering the long and hot Action we had; we are now cleaning our Arms and getting ready against Captain Lang's Arrival which we expect will be in one hour and then we may soon drive the remainder of them accross them the river. I have no other News.

I am with perfect respect

Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

WILLIAM GLEN.

8.

*Letter from Major Adams to the President.*

BULLAPARRAH 19th July 1763.

DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure of acquainting you that this Morning I attacked Tucky Cawn and entirely defeated him; they have left four Pieces of Cannon in the Field; he was joined before the Battle by Sheik Hibuttools, Jaffir Cawn & Coja Arratoon with one thousand Seapoys. We have killed of the Cavalry Lieutenant D'Ellazarte and Lieutenant Smith mortally wounded—two gallant Officers. I will send you further Particulars, as soon as I can find leisure.

And am very truly,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient Servant

THOMAS ADAMS.

9.

FIELD OF BATTLE.

The 2nd August 1763

*Letter from Major Adams to the President.*

DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you of having this Day obtained a compleat Victory over the Armenians and Seapoys. They behaved very gallantly. I believe I have taken



most of the Patna Artillery. Particulars at present is out of my Power, only that our Troops behaved with their usual Courage; we have lost some gallant Officers, particularly my Aide Camp Lieutenant Glen.

I am, Sir,  
Your most obedient Servant,  
THOMAS ADAMS.

10.

Extract of a Letter from Major Adams to the President dated the 10th August 1763.

"On the third instant I wrote to the Chief and Council of Dacca, to deliver up to Mahomed Reza Cawn whom the Nabob has appointed Naib of that District all the State Prisoners and Effects belonging to the Country Government. The Nabob requests of you to write to the same Purport to them."

11

CAMP AT FULKEYPUR.  
25th August 1763.

DEAR SIR,

Last Night we began our first Work after having secured our Encampment by an Intrenchment in front and rear, our Flanks being secure by a natural Fence, of the River on the right and a Swamp on the left, this being a necessary previous step as we knew the Enemy's Intention of attacking our rear with the Cavalry on any Attempt we might make on their Works. At 7 in the Evening we advanced from our Post in Front about 2,700 Yards from their Works to within 1,208 Yards of them, and before Morning finished a Parallel of 60 Yards with a Parapet of 12 feet and a Ditch in front of 5 feet and 4 Deep. This Parallel was covered on the left (the right extending to the River) by a redoubt of two Faces of 15 Yards each and two Flanks of Six, containing Six Embrasures, the Merlons of which are 13 Feet and 7 high with a Ditch in Front of 12 Feet broad. The Gorge and the rear of the parallel Protected by a Ditch of 6 Feet broad and 5 Deep quite to the River. This, with Part of the Communication to Camp was finished before Break of Day, with a Magazine for four Field Pieces. A hundred and twenty Europeans and three hundred Seapoys I ordered there for the guard.

This Morning the Enemy were much surprized at the Work and fired a few Shott at it which not being answered they imagined We had no Guns and accordingly at 12 o'clock marched out two Battallions of Seapoys commanded by Marcat (and covered by the fire from their Works) to storm our redoubt; Capt. Moran, the Commanding Officer, amused them by his Silence with a Confirmation of their Opinion, till within 50 Yards of him, when he unmasked his Embrasures and poured in a Round of Grape amongst them and Musquetry, which not a little disconcerted them, but a Second sent them all to the right about and at the same time a brisk Ricochet firing from Camp, obliged their Cavalry upwards of 2,000 coming about to attack our left Flank to retire with great Precipitation.

We shall finish our Communication to Night and carry up all our Fascines in order to advance another Work to-morrow; the Enemy are in great Confusion; and lost upwards of a hundred killed at the Battery and a great number wounded.

Inclosed are two Indents for Arms and Stores, that for the Boats, I should be glad was forwarded with all expedition.

I am,  
Dear Sir,  
Your most obedient Servant,  
THOS. ADAMS.



12

FORT OF SURIE,  
30th August 10 at Night.

SIR,

I this Morning attacked Surasbeg near Surie in Beerboon, his Force consisted of about 300 Horses and about 400 Foot with five Pieces of Cannon, after a short Engagement the Enemy run and left us in Possession of all their Guns and afterwards abandoned the Fort.

Two hours after I received Intelligence from many different People, that Caunder Cawn was arrived within 6 Coss of me with 6,000 Patan Horse, a few Europeans I suppose Portuguese, and Armenians and a thousand Seapoys with Cannon; thinking myself no way capable to oppose so formidable a Force am now making my disposition for a hasty retreat, after nailing up the Guns, burning the Carriages and the Fort. I have lost 10 or 15 Seapoys.

I am Sir with respect,  
Your obedient Servant,  
LAD. MCLÉAN.

13

COLGONG  
11th Sept. 1763  
between Sonpoor  
and Mongheer 14 Coss.  
from Cutwa.

HON'BLE SIR,

In my letter of yesterday from the Banks of the River Agy, I informed you of my Intention to retire to Cutwa and send the Sick and wounded to Calcutta, but, finding the Enemy have sent no Parties after me, I have altered my resolution of going to Cutwa and will remain here till I find out the real strength of the Enemy; and to wait such Re-inforcements as can be spared with a considerable recruit of Ammunition and Military Stores, which are greatly wanted; another reason induced me to stay here because 'tis on the Frontier of the Burdwan Province and I can re-enter Beerboon in 4 hours; I must repeat that if this Detachment when re-inforced should be ordered again into Beerboon, that Artillery will be of the utmost consequence as the Enemy are in Possession of Naggore and other Places of Strength; besides it will encourage the Seapoys, who without Guns or Europeans to support them are not altogether to be depended upon.

I will send Ensign Bonnaker who is very ill, with the Sick and wounded off to Day for Burdwan and will remain here if I can till I hear from you. I will also acquaint Khodar Yar Cawn that I will wait here for him.

I am with respect,  
Hon'ble Sir,  
Your most obedient Servant,  
LAUGHLIN MCLÉAN.

14

QUDA NALLA,  
5th Sept. 1763.

DEAR SIR,

Give me leave to congratulate you on our being in Possession of the Enemy's Works at this Place which I carried by Assault this Morning, with very little Loss on our Side, but



a more terrible one on that of the Enemy than at Ghyrish, Capt. Broadbrooke is killed and Lt. Hampton dangerously wounded, about five or six other Europeans wounded and some few Seapoys. I will send you the particulars as soon as possible, and am with great Esteem

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and humble Servant,

THOS. ADAMS.

15.

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob Cossim Aly Cawn to Major Adams Dated 30 of Saffer or 9th Septr. and received the 3d of Rebbec-al-owel or 12 September 1763 at Sukhree-gullee.

That for these three Months you have been laying Waste the King's Country with your Forces, what Authority have you? if you are in possession of any Royal Sunnud for my Dismission you ought to send me either the Original or a Copy of it, that having seen it and shown it to my Army I may quit this Country and repair to the presence of his Majesty. Although I have in no respect intended any Breach of publick Faith, yet Mr. Ellis, regarding not Treaties or Engagements, in Violation of publick Faith, proceeded against me with Treachery and Nights Assaults, all my People then believed that no Peace or Terms now remained with the English and that wherever they could be found it was their Duty to kill them. With this opinion it was that the Aumils of Moorshedabad killed Mr. Amyatt. But it was by no means agreeable to me that gentlemen should be killed: on this Account I write, that if you are resolved on your own Authority to proceed in this Business, know for a certainty, that I will cut off the Heads of Mr. Ellis and the rest of your Chiefs and send them to you. Exult not upon the Success which you have gained merely by treachery and night assaults in two or three places over a few Jemautdars sent by me. By the Will of God you shall see in what Manner this shall be revenged and retaliated.

16

*Dated 17th September 1763.*

TO COSSIM ALY CAWN,

I have received from Major Adams the Copy of your Letter to him Dated the last of Saffer. Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay were sent to you as Embassadors, a title sacred among all nations, yet in violation to the title you caused Mr. Amyatt to be attacked and killed, on his return, after having given him your passports, and Mr. Hay you unjustly kept as a prisoner with you. You surrounded and attacked our factory at Cossimbuzar and carried away our gentlemen from thence prisoners in a most disgraceful manner to Mongheer; altho' they had no Concern in the War not resisted your People, in like Manner in all other Parts you attacked the English agents who were carrying on their Trade quietly. Some you killed and some were carried away prisoners and their effects were everywhere plundered. After these proceedings do you ask for what Reason Major Adams was sent with an Army? You know the Laws of God and Man; as you had declared you would turn the English out of the Country and had proceeded as far as you could towards it, it became necessary for us to take Measures for our own Defence and for the Care of our Reputation. Thanks be to God that Success has attended our Army thus far and they will continue their March in the same manner as far as the Caramassas that the Country may be freed from Disturbances and the Inhabitants relieved from the Horrors of War; and although we are shocked as must all People of all Religions and of all Nations at the Revenge which you threaten to take upon the Lives of our Chiefs who have been unfortunately and unjustly taken Prisoners by you



yet the Honor of our Nation and the Interests of the Company will not be sacrificed to this consideration nor the operations of our Army stop. To put prisoners of war to death is an Act which will appear shocking and unlawful not only to Christians and Musselmén but to the most barbarous Pagans; such sentiments are nowhere to be met with, but among the Beasts of the Forests. After the Battle of Ouda Nulla above a thousand of your Officers and Men were Prisoners in the hands of Major Adams who released them without the least hurt or injury. Reflect on this and on your own Character both in this world and the next, and remember also that if you had followed my advice this war would not have happened.

17.

TO MAJOR THOMAS ADAMS.

SIR,

The President has laid before Us the Copy of the Letter received from Cossim Aly Cawn enclosed in your Letter of the 12th.

We hope the Revenge he threatens to take on our Chiefs who are Prisoners in his Hands is nothing more than a brave proceeding from a Sense of his Incapacity to make any further Resistance against our Forces or support the War. And great as our Concern is for the Safety of those Gentlemen We think the more We let it appear to Cossim Aly Cawn the more We shall expose them to such a Risk. It is impossible any Terms of Accomodation can take place between Us, nor should We give him the least Hopes that the Operations of our Army can be suspended on that Account; Considering therefore that We have no equivalent to offer him for their Release, We have thought it proper that a Letter should be wrote him by the President, setting before him the Infamy and Inutility of so horrid a Design, as well as our necessary Firmness and Resolution in the Prosecution of the War. This Letter is sent you enclosed to be forwarded with an English Copy for your Information.

We could have wished to have had your Sentiments together with Major Carnac's and Mr. Batson's on so interesting a Point, for although We would most willingly embrace any possible Measure to ensure the Lives of those Gentlemen, yet, nothing has occurred to us that can be adopted, unless the granting of Cossim Aly Cawn Permission to retire unmolested, on such a Proposals coming from him and the immediate Delivery of the Prisoners, or further, the being allowed to continue for a year certain at Rotas, the Place to which it is said he has removed his Effects and Family within which time he may determine for himself whether he will retire. This even We would grant on the Condition of his remaining quiet.

But upon the whole, as you are on the Spot and may be better able to judge of Cossim Aly Cawn's real Designs and Circumstances, we must leave it to you to make use of these Instructions or any other Expedient which may occur to yourself, in the most proper Manner.

You will communicate the President's Letter to the Nabob and in case any other Proposals should afterwards pass between you and Cossim Aly Cawn, We shall depend on your then representing them in a proper light to the Nabob and obtaining his Consent.

One Proposition We think may properly come from us on behalf of Mr. Hay, Cossim Aly Cawn having declared that he detained him only as a Hostage for Mahomed Aly. We desire that you will make an offer of sending him this Man, on his delivering up Mr. Hay.

We are &amp;c.

31277



18.

CAMP AT SICRAGULLY,  
9th September 1763.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 14th instant No. 9 arrived last Night, after hearing of our success on the 5th instant. Captain McLean will have no Occasion to hesitate a Moment, but immediately to enter and take Possession of the Beerbhoot Province, as I am convinced the Enemy will make no stand.

Our advance Party are in Possession of Tiliagully the Enemy abandoned it and 12 Pieces of Cannon before our Approach, Cossim Aly it is said is gone to Mongheer but does not intend staying there.

I am with great Esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedt. h'ble Servt.

THOS. ADAMS.

19.

I received your Letter and understand the Contents. The English having always had in View the Articles of the Treaty endeavoured by pacific Measures to reconcile all differences with you, till the perfidious Massacre of Mr. Amyatt compelled them contrary to their Inclination to declare War against You. You say it was not your Intention to murder Mr. Amyatt; why then did you not punish the Aggressors with the utmost severity? There are three Months elapsed and nothing done. We have now by the Assistance of Providence brought your Affairs to a very low Ebb. It is true you have Mr. Ellis and many other Gentlemen in your Power; if a hair of their Heads is hurt you can have no title to Mercy from the English and you may depend upon the utmost Fury of their Resentment, and that they will pursue you to the utmost Extremity of the Earth, and should we unfortunately not lay hold of you, the Vengeance of the Almighty cannot fail overtaking you. If you perpetrate so horrid an Act as the Murder of the Gentlemen in your Custody.

20.

DEAR SIR,

We had a report yesterday that Coja Gregore had been wounded some days ago by a Party of his Mogul Cavalry who mutinied for want of their Pay between Soonge Gurree and Nabob Gunge. It is just now confirmed by a Hircarra arrived from the Enemy with this Addition that he died next Day and that forty Principal People concerned were put to death upon the occasion: tho' it was imagined that the Moguls were induced to affront and assault Coja Gregore by Cossim Aly Cawn who began to be very jealous of him on Account of his good Behaviour to the English. If this Account should prove true Coja Petreus can be of no further Service to us, I therefore would recommend sending him down again to Calcutta, but shall wait the directions of the Board on that Head.

I must confess this Piece of News gives me some Concern as by all Accounts he behaved very well to our Gentlemen. And it was that only that occasioned him to fall under Cossim Aly Cawn's Displeasure, had he lived he might probably have assisted in effecting their Escape, as we hear he frequently was the Means of saving their Lives as well as the Seats of other Prisoners.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedt. h'ble Servt.

THOS. ADAMS.



21.

CAMP AT BARAMPORE,  
3rd October 1763, 9 p.m.

TO MAJOR JOHN CAGNAC.

SIR,

Finding that a Body of Cossim Aly Cawn's Troops have assembled themselves in the Province of Beerboom. We judge it necessary to form a separate Army in that Quarter, as well to reduce and expell this Body of Troops from Beerboom and to defend the Burdwan Province against any Inroads or Attempts to disturb the Collections from any Enemy whatsoever.

We have therefore determined to reinforce the Detachment which is already there, with all the Troops. We can possibly spare from hence, and that you shall proceed to take upon you the Command. This Army when you have joined you will find to consist of four hundred Europeans, about a thousand Seapays and four Guns, so that in case the Situation of the Enemy or the Nature of the Country should require it, you will be enabled to form two Bodies for executing the intended Service.

We have appointed Mr. James Ashburner and Mr. Wm. Barton to attend you in the Capacity of Paymaster and Commissary.

The Pay and Expences of the Army will be supplied out of the Collections by Mr. Johnstone at Burdwan, with whom also you will please to consult on any Measures which may be necessary to be taken for the Safety of the Province.

You will further observe and follow all such Directions as you may receive from Major Adams.

And having a thorough reliance on your good Conduct We have only add to our Wishes for your Success.

We remain with Esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servants,  
(GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL.)

22.

FATNA, October 4th, 1763.

TO MAJOR ADAMS.

Your favor of the 26 we have received with much Pleasure, and will endeavor to purchase our Deliverance, though We think it impracticable at least till you approach nearer to us. Since our leaving Mongheer we have been treated very ill, there are 49 in this Prison, 25 of which are in Irons and in that Number is Mr. Hay. We have none we can trust to carry Intelligence to you, but you may return the bearer again with safety, he knows where to find Us. There is a Rumor of our going to Rotas, but we hope that your Speed will prevent it. In another Prison, there are 8 or 9 more Gentlemen. We have lost Capt. Turner since our being taken,

W. ELLIS,  
W. HAY.

23.

MONGHEER,  
11th October 1763.

DEAR SIR,

I have the Pleasure to acquaint you that we are now in Possession of Mongheer, the Breach being last Night practicable I intended to have stormed the Fort this Morning, but



the Enemy prevented Us that Trouble by surrendering at Discretion: I believe there are near three hundred Pieces of Cannon 7 or 8 of them 24 lbs. all the rest Europe Guns, about 1000 Stand of Firelocks and great Quantity of Match Locks, with a large Quantity of all Sorts of Ammunition and Grains.

I have ordered an advanced Party to proceed to Singia Nulla, and shall follow with the Army in order to push on for Patna with the utmost Expedition.

I am with Esteem  
Dear Sir  
Your most obedient humble Servt.,  
THOS. ADAMS.

24

TO THE HON'BLE HENRY VANSITTART, ESQR.,  
PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR, ETC., COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

Having Occasion to send a Person to Patna to collect in and transact the Business Account of the Estate of the late Peter Amyatt Esqr. I am to request you'll grant Permission to Mr. Alexr. Jephson to proceed accordingly whose good Behavior I will be answerable for.

I am with Respect  
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,  
Your most Obedient Humble Servt.,  
JAMES AMYATT.

CALCUTTA,  
24th October 1763.

25

CAMP AT BURRIB,  
18th October 1763.

GENTLEMEN,

The Accounts which I have communicated to the President relative to the Fate of our Gentlemen at Patna, are now confirmed by the Arrival of several of their Servants in Camp. One Assuck, Consumah to Mr. Albright who gives the most distinct Account, I intend to send down to Calcutta for your Examination. He says that twelve Days ago, at 7 o'Clock in the Evening our Gentlemen having drank Tea were acquainted by Mr. Ellis' Servant, that Someroo was arrived with some Seapoys, on which Mr. Ellis immediately ordered a Chair to be brought for him, but instead of going to the Gentlemen, he sent away the Mogul who had the Charge of them, and went into the Cook room, and gave Orders to the Servants, who getting Supper ready to be gone. He then sent for Messrs. Ellis and Lushington, who, being acquainted he had private Business with them, immediately went to him and were instantly cut down; afterwards Messrs. Hay, Lyon and Jones were sent for and dispatched in the same Manner, as were likewise Messrs. Chambers Amphlett and Gluston who were next sent for, with Mr. Smith, but he receiving a Cut on the Shoulder escaped into the Room, and acquainted the rest of the Gentlemen who defended themselves with Bottles and Plates, (their Knives and Forks being taken from them after Dinner) and obliged the Seapoys to retire who immediately loaded their pieces and shot them, 25 were in Irons the above mentioned Gentlemen with others amounting to 24 more were not in Irons. He adds that Captn. Wilson, Ensign Mackay, Doctor Campbell and five or six others were murdered at Chalisatoon, where they were confined, with Doctor Fullarton who was the only Gentleman that was not put to Death. But that all the



English Soldiers were yet alive. This horrid Massacre was perpetrated the Night that Cossim Aly Cawn received the President's and my Letters.

All Accounts likewise agree, that Futia Sing, Ramnarrain's Brother with 8 or 9 more of Ramnarrain's Relations were about the same time put to Death and that the Seaks\* were put to Death near Baar and their Bodies not permitted to be burnt but exposed under a Guard of Seapoys; the bodies of our gentlemen were most of them thrown into a well in the Compound of the House they were confined in.

They likewise say that immediately on receipt of the News of our Storming Ouda Nulla, Cossim Aly Cawn ordered all the English to be sent out on the River and sunk there, but was prevented by Coja Gregore who had he lived they say would have prevented this horrid Affair.

I am,  
Gentlemen,  
Your Most Obedient humble Servt.,  
THOS. ADAMS.

P.S.—Petrucce can now be of no service to us; I wait for your Instructions before I shall set him at Liberty.

26

CAMP NEAR JAFFIER CAWN'S GARDEN,  
27th October 1763.

DEAR SIR,

I have the Pleasure of your favor of the 19th, No. 24. I think the most eligible Method of engaging the Men of the Regiment in the Company's Service is to take some of their own Officers with them, and agreeable to your Hint I have spoke to Captain Irwin, who engages to enlist all or most of the Men in the Regiment into the Company's Service provided he gets a Majority and Captains Commissions are given to Capt. Lieut. Dale, Lieuts. Goddards, Fielding, Nelson and Mangin, who are the oldest Lieutenants in the Regiment. There are likewise amongst the ensigns Auchmuty, Roper, Knudson, Skinner, and Carnac, and I believe more will chuse to stay. Should you approve of this, the sooner the Gentlemen are appointed the better, and they may set about engaging the Men immediately after they are given out in orders.

I am with great Esteem,  
Dear Sir,  
Your most obedient humble Servt.,  
THOS. ADAMS.

27

*Mr. William Pullarton's Letter to the President.*

CAMP BEFORE PATNA,  
3 November 1763.

HON'BLE SIR,

On the 7th October, two Days after our Gentlemen had been barbarously murdered at Patna, the Nabob sent for me and told me he had forgiven me and that I should be sent down to Calcutta and he proposed writing to you and to Major Adams with Proposals of making a Treaty I was dismissed that Day, and ordered to attend Daily, and I gott my Dismission, after attending four Days the Nabob had finished his Letters and fixed the Time for my Departure, he told me that if we did not make Peace with him that he would

\* Seaks. The Seths.



bring the King, the Marattoes, and Abdalla against us, he asserted that he had no Hand in the Death of Mr. Amyatt, but that on his receiving the News of the Attack of Patna by our Troops he had sent Orders to all his Phoudars to take and imprison all the English, wherever he could find them; I was ready to set out when he was advised by some of his People not to write nor let me go towards our Army but the Approach of Major Adams with our Troops and the Nabob's sudden Retreat from Patna gave me an opportunity to make my Escape.

I am to request and hope to meet with your Favor in being continued at Patna as before

I have the Honor to be with the utmost Respect

Your most obedient humble Servt.

WM. FULLARTON.

29.

HEADQUARTERS AT CAPTAIN CARSTAIR'S

6th November 1765.

DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I this morning stormed Patna, and have carried the whole of the Enemy's Works with all their Guns, etc. This great object of our wishes has not been obtained without its Ally. Captains Irwin, Champion, Stibbert, and Gallier and Lieutenant Scotland are wounded, poor Irwin mortal, and, I fear, Gallier will not recover. Major Sherlock has now the Command of the City, which I have ordered to be delivered to Captain Windwood, considering its importance. We have lost but few men upon this occasion and it may be accounted an easy Conquest if Providence had spared the abovementioned Gentlemen.

Major Sherlock commanded the Attack and Captain Irwin, who entered the Breach at the Head of the European Grenadiers, had advanced as far as the End of the Kallah in order to take Possession of the Gateway and S. E. Bastion commonly called Burrah Montery before he received his wound, a grape shot in his Thigh, very high up, which has shattered the Bone to Pieces. I look on him as a publick Loss as well as a particular Loss to the Company. The obstinate Defence occasioned the Loss of the Enemy to be much greater than can be imagined upon the like Occasion, as they had the back Door to walk out of. At a moderate Computation there are about 1,000 of them slain.

I am, etc.,

THOS. ADAMS.

30.

TO THE PRESIDENT, ETC., COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

FORT WILLIAM,

The 7th November 1765.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

We are to request your permission to send Mr. Thwaite to Rampore Baulash to collect in the Concerns of the late Messrs. Amyatt and Bennet, and We are ready to give such Security for his Conduct as you may require.

We remain with the greatest respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient, and humble Servants,

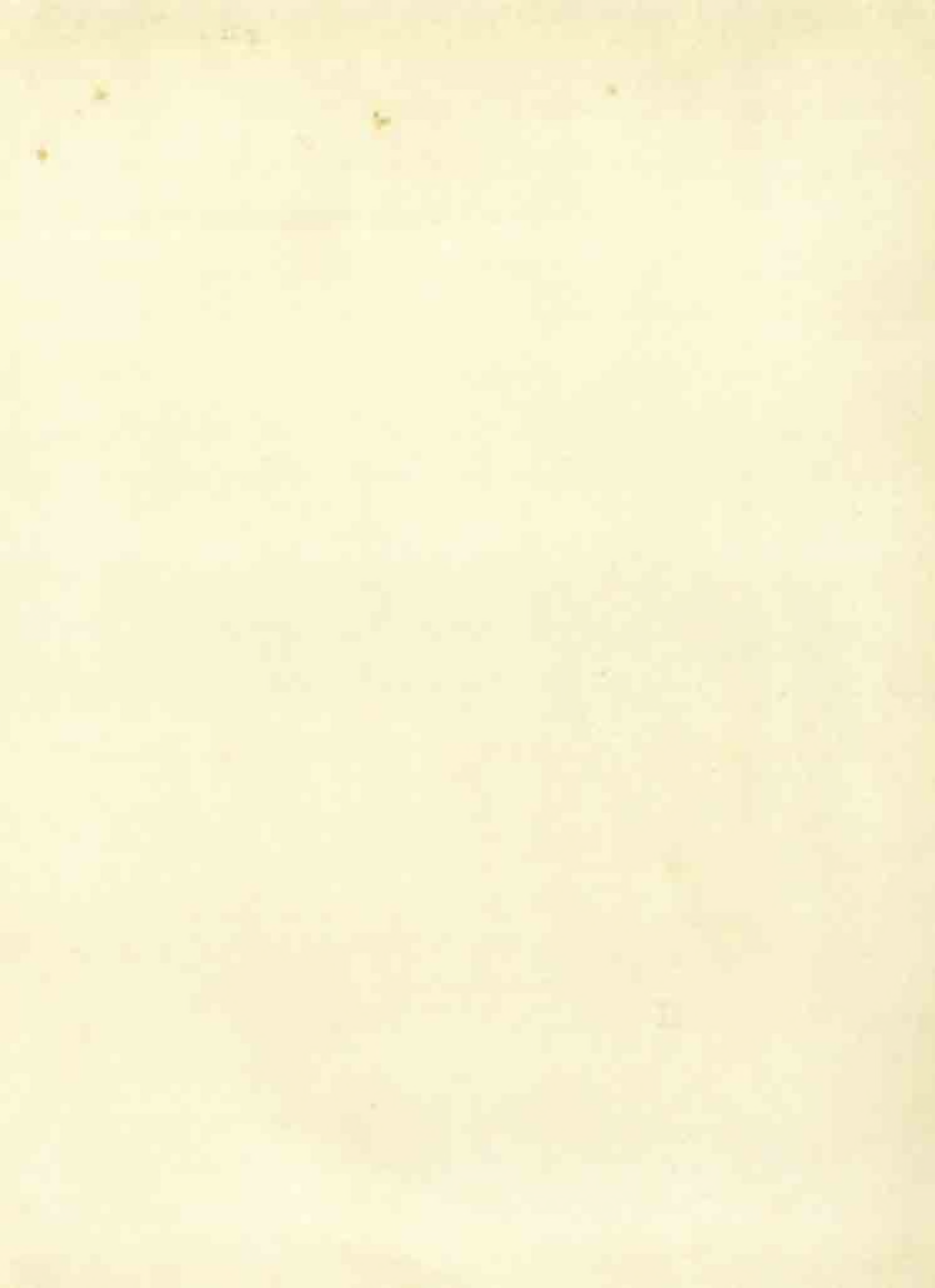
RUSSELL SKINNER,

SHILLONG,

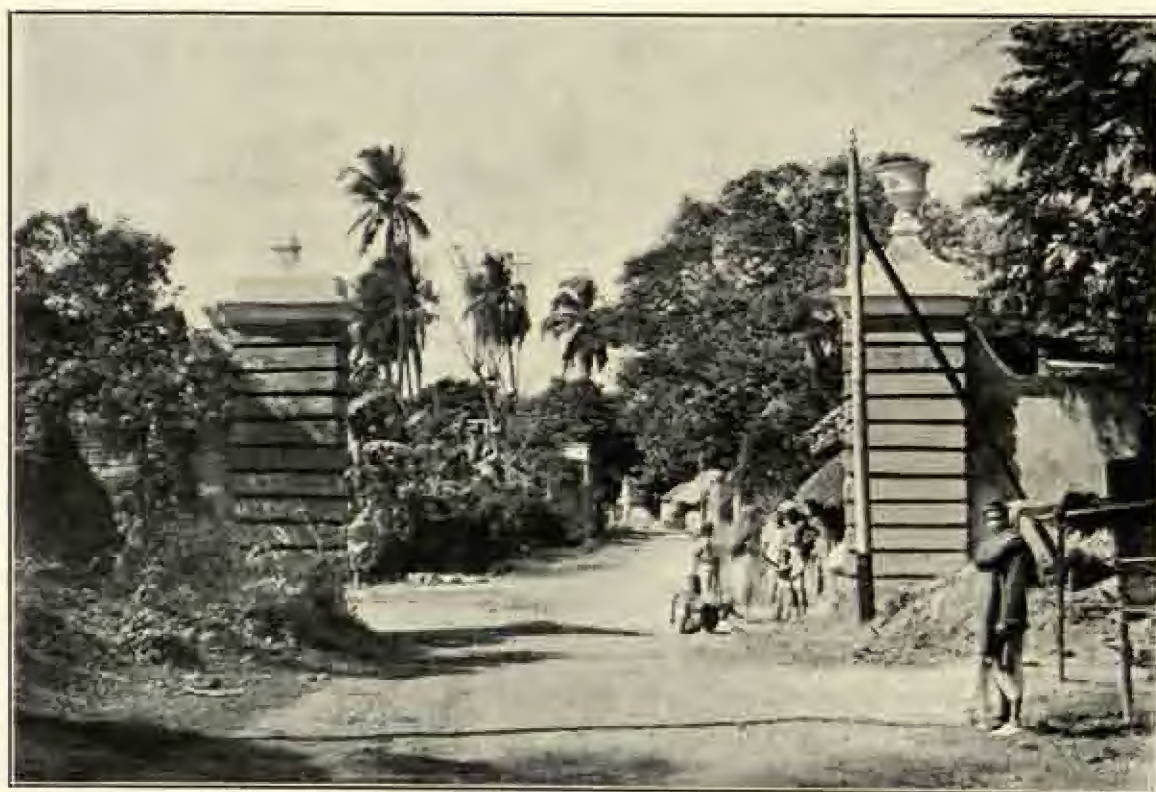
13rd July 1910.

WALTER K. FLEMING.









CHANDERNAGORE. THE TALDANGA GATE ON THE GRAND TRUNK ROAD.  
N. LIMIT OF CHANDERNAGORE.

*(Photo. by D. N. Karmakar, kindly lent by  
Charu Chandra Roy, M.A.)*



## A Note on Slaves and Slavery in Old Chandernagore.



N the course of my researches among the old papers in the Government offices at Chandernagore, I have come across a number of very interesting documents in connection with slaves and slavery in Old Chandernagore.

Toynbee in his *A Sketch of the Administration of the Hooghly District* (1888) writes of a practice prevalent in the year 1796 of purchasing young slaves for the purpose of making eunuchs of them to be afterwards disposed of by sale. The Nizamat Adalat, with the sanction of the Moulvis, made all operations on slaves punishable. He also quotes (p. 149) a letter dated the 12th August 1797 from a French official named M. Desgranges to the Magistrate of Hooghly, which runs as follows :—

Give me leave to address myself to you on the subject of a run away slave girl, one of my waiting-women, who left me some time ago and whom one Mr. Vogel has taken under his protection, although by no means authorized to do so, but probably from such reason as is not decent to be mentioned, and which I cannot but be offended with. I wrote to him..... to return the creature! But he would not.

Toynbee also quotes from a report of the Magistrate of Hooghly in 1836 that the only kind of slavery then existing was of a domestic character and occurred only among Mahomedans; and that Musalman families of any respectability possessed female slaves and young boy slaves; these however rarely came to the notice of the authorities. The Dutch also possessed a large number of slaves in Chinsurah, who asserted their independence on the English taking possession of that town.

Regulation X of 1811 prohibited the sale of slaves imported into British territory. The importation by Frenchmen or foreigners of African slaves into the French colonies was interdicted by a law passed in 1818. But the Convention for the abolition of slavery was only signed by France in 1831, and by a decree, dated the 27th April 1848, the Provisional Government in France abolished slave trade in the Colonies where it had continued up till then. From the beginning of the French establishment in India in the latter part of the 17th century up to the middle of the 19th slaves abounded in the dominions of France in India.

Among the papers I have searched, the first mention of slaves is found in a testament, dated the 1st October 1702, of one Bernard Pellarorque, "Chirurgien Major pour la Royale Compagnie de France au comptoir générale



d'Oughly, Royaume de Bengale." After the customary preamble of the testator's declaration of faith in the Catholic religion, it says:—

"Item, a déclaré donner la liberté aux nommés Monique, Suzanne, Laria, Anique et Joan, ses esclaves, à chacun des quels il donne et lègue vingt cinq roubles.

"Item, déclare donner à Monique son esclave cy dessus nommé une petite moce à luy appartenante nommé Bitou pour la servir pendant l'espace de dix années les quelles é tant finis la dite Bitou sera libre."

The above testament was recorded by the "Greffier" of the Council at "Oughly"—in the testator's house "sise dans la terrain de la compagnie nommé Chandernagar dans la province d'Oughly Royaume de Bengale" From this it is evident that Chandernagore was yet only a "terrain de la Compagnie" and that the chief seat of French Commerce in Bengal was still at "Ougly."\*

Next comes another testament of "M. Noel Argant, Marchand François particulier, demeurant dans la lieu nommé Chinchura de la dependance de cette ville et Gouvernement d'Ougly, gisant au lit malade dans sa maison size au dit lieu de Chinchura" (27th September 1704).

"Item, a déclaré avoir dix esclaves, savoir neuf femelle et un masle, qui sont Sabine André, Romaine, Ignacia, Rosa, Murielle, Elizabeth autrement Crybelle, Marthe, Simone et Paul, tous les quels il laisse dans leur esclavage et veut et ordonne qu'ils soient estimés et partagés entre la femme et les enfants à compte de ce qu'il pourra leur revenir; si mieux l'aient les faire vendre à l'Encaen avec ses autres effets."

The next document I transcribe in *in extenso*.

"Par devant moy Richard Estienne Igouf, Greffier du Conseil de Justice du Comptoir principal de Bengale. Est comparue la nommée Joanne Perera, veuve de feu nommé Mathieus de Silva habitant du Bandel d'Ougly la quelle m'a déclaré qu'elle avoit engagé et engagé par ces présentes son fils légitime nommé Ignace, Cestien baptisé âgé de huit ans ou environ à Raymond de Fonseca Canonier au service de la royalle C<sup>te</sup> de France pour la Servir pendant les espace de dix ans à commencer de ce jour sous les clauses et conditions qui en suivent, sçavoir

Que la dite Joanne Perera a remis son fils Ygnace entre les mains du dit Raimond de Fonseca pour le servir en qualité de valet pendant les dites dix années et luy obéir en tout ce qui sera de raison, pourra aussi le dit Raimond de Fonseca emmener avec luy le dit Ignace partout ou il ira en quelque endroit que ce puisse estre et le dit Raymond de Fonseca sera tenu de nourir elever entretenir et traiter—humainement le dit Ignace pendant les dites dix années, à luy enseigner à bien vivre et à pouvoir gagner sa vie selon sa petite condition et au horus des dix années luy donnera pouvoir de se retirer ou bon luy semblera. En conséquence de quoy les dit Raimond de Fonseca a payé à sa mere Joanne Perera la somme de cinq roubles qu'elle a reçu et dont elle s'est tenue comptante, Falt et passé au greffe du dit conseil en presence des témoins soussignés le vingt et septieme jour d'aoust mil sept cent huit apres midy.

(Sd.) R. FONSEQUE.  
YGOUF.

\*[For date of the commencement of a French settlement of Chandernagar, 1690, see *Bengal: Past and Present* Vol. IV., P. 617. Vol. V., P. 343-4 and Vol. VI., P. 161.—Eo.]



Toynbee mentions a practice prevalent in the Hooghly district of a person taking Rs. 40 or Rs. 50 and working it out as a slave or servant. Such persons were called "Ajeer." In this case, however, it is the mother, a third person, and not the man himself who accepts the price of his labour. The next two documents have a similar tenor.

"L'an mil sept cent huit le mercredi vingt unième jour de November avant midy pardevant moy Charles Roger Greffier du Conseil de Justice du Comptoir principal de Bengale etably à Ougly, soussigné sont presents Antoine de Rosaire et Marie de Rosaire, sa femme légitime; habitant de ce lieu de Chandernager: lesquels ont confessé et volontairement déclaré que le nommé Antoine Manhon Jeune garçon âgé d'environ dix sept ans, natif de Balasor, de caste gentille non encore Baptisé, et qu'ils ont élevé nourry et entretenu dans leur maison pendant l'espace de six années n'est point encore esclave, mais libre absolument et ainsy qu'ils n'ont aucun droit ny prétention sur sa liberté, et le dit Antoine Manhon lssy présent a promis et promet par ces présentes de payer aux dit Antoine et Marie de Rosaire ou autres ayant cause d'eux la somme de demy roupies par mois ou six roupies par an cela pendant l'espace de six années consecutives à commencer de ce jour jusqu'à l'entiere payement de la somme totale de trente six roupies qu'il confesse devoir aux dites Antoine et Marie de Rosaire pour l'entretien et nourriture qu'ils luy ont fourny pendant les six années qu'il demeuré dans leur maison et pour sreté du dit payement le dit Antoine Manhon s'est obligé et oblige corps et biens généralement quelconques. Fait et passé en presuence des sr Charles Duprez et Richard Estienne Ygouf sous marchand de la cie Royale de France soussignés le jour etc., etc.,

FRANCISCO DOS TEY,

*A sinon formen Day en Minha May.*

Nous soussignés Jean Dany la Ville et Mathieu Hauch sommes convenus ensemble pour terminer tous différends qui sont my et a mouvoir au sujet d'une petite fille nommée Therese des conditions suivantes a sçavoir: que moy Dany la ville consent que le sr Mathieu Hauch aye en sa possession la nommée Therese m'a filleure pour le servir en qualité de son élève et pas autrement et qu'il prendrai soin de son éducation et l'elevera toujours dans la Religion Catholique apostolique et Romaine et qu'en outre il ne la pourra vendre n'y engager n'estant point esclave et moy dit Mathieu Hauch promese prendre la ditte Therese pour la garder dans ma maison en qualité de mon élève d' avoir soin de son éducation et luy enseigner ses prieres et autres choses qui regarde la religion Catholique Apostolique et Romaine, promet de plus que je ne la venderay ny engageray sous quelque pretexte que ce puisse estre et meme je luy procureray un Establissement, qui sera à son avantage, fait et passé entre nous le présent papler en présence de Sr Vincent Paraberre Chirurgien Major en cette loge et Mathieu Hicart temoin à Chandernagar le 4<sup>e</sup> jour de Septre 1718.

In the last quoted document a clear distinction is made between an "élève" and "esclave"; this points unmistakably to a system resembling that which bound down apprentices to their master. The two documents reproduced below *in extenso* reveal a curious exchange of property.

"Mr. Anthoine Monier preire habitant de ce lieu de Chandernagar lequel ma déclaré et déclare que comme il a dans l'aldé de Chitarani (?) quatre mosse qui y sont detenus et que comme il luy faudroit faire de grosses depences pour les avoir, pour obvier à quoy il auroit,



fait le présent contract de Trocq Anacq Thomée de Rosaire habitant du Chandernagar aux conditions qui suivent scavoir ; que Mon dit. Sr. Monier delaisse au dit. Thomée de Rosaire le dites quatre esclaves qui luy apartiennent qui sont à Chitaram et en outre luy a compté la somme de douze roupies Madras en ma presence : que le dit. Rosaire a reçu, en vertu de quoy il a donné a mondit Sr. L'abbé trois mosses que le dit. sr. a reçu et declare... dit. Sr. Rosaire, dites mosses comme..... choses a luy appartenantes.....3 Juillet 1711.<sup>8</sup>

" Pardevant moy Richard Estienne Ygoul Greffier etc.....sont comparus M. Antoine Martin marchand et conseiller pour M. M. de la royale Cie de France du Commerce des Indes orientales dans leur comptoir principal d'Ougly d'une part ; et le Sr. Laurens Argant, marchand françois particulier habitant de ce lieu de Chandarnagar d'autre part les quils.....ont fait et accordé sur articles et conventions cy après spécifier d scavoir.

Le dit Sr. Antoine Martin a donné cédé et accordé la liberté perpétuelle et irrevocable au Ne. Antoine Berraguy son esclave agé d'environ dix sept ans et autre cela luy a fait present de la somme de cinquante roupies qu'il a payer comptant et déposer entre les mains du dit. Sr. Laurens Argant qui.....a promis et s'est obligé d'en payer ses interets audit Beraguy a raison de douze p. % par an et au bout de dix ans a compter de ce jour luy rendre et remettre la dite somme de cinquante roupies nettes et quittes et sans aucune frals. De plus le dit. Sr. Antoine Martin a dit faire les dites donations cy dessus à condition que le dit. Sr. Laurens Argant donnera la liberté a son esclave nommée Cecille et consentira qu'elle épouse le dit Beraguy . . . . en consequence de quoy . . . Laurens Argant a donné cédé et accordé la liberté perpétuelle et irrevocable à la nommée Cecile son esclave agé d'environ de quatorze ans luy promettant d'épouser le dit Antoine Beraguy et outre cela luy a fait present de la somme de cinquante roupies qui resteront déposée entre ses mains, mais dont il a promis et soit obligé d'en payer ses interets au dit Berraguy à raison de douze pour cent par an et au bout de dix ans à compter de ce jour luy rendre . . . la dite somme . . . .

De plus le dit Sr. Argant a promis et s'est obligé de garder et loger dans sa maison, nourir et entretenir honnestement et traiter humainement et comme personnes libres et dite Antoine Beraguy et Cecile avec toutes les enfants qui naitront de leur futur mariage, les quels seront aussy pleinement et entièrement libres des le jour de leur naissance et cela pendant l'espace de dix ans antières et consécutives à commencer du jour du dit futur mariage et le dit Barraguy et la dite Cecille estants presents ont donné de leur côté librement et franchement leur consentement à toutes les articles stipulés dans la présente acte qui les ont accepté dans leur forme et teneur promettant et s'obligeant de les observer exactement et de servir avec toutes fidélité et avec tout le soin possible le dit Sr. Laurens Argant et son épouse pendant les dites dix années sans prendre aucune chose pour leur gages.

(Sd.) MARIE ALORET.  
DU LAURENS.  
DE LA BLANCHETIERRE.

LAURENS ARGANT.  
ANTOINE MARTIN.  
NOEL VIEIRA.  
YGOUT.

In the above contract it is difficult to make out the motive that inspired Antoine Martin to set free his slave and make a present of Rs. 50 into the bargain.

In a testament dated the 2nd December 1711 it is put down : " Item : declare ceder a son épouse quatre esclaves nommes Hilaire, Leonore, Simon et impatil Ne Jacop. Item : donne a sa fille geneuince une mosse ne..." The



first pilot of the French Company named Michel Fournier leaves by his will (8-12-1712) a property worth several thousands including a large house in Chandernagar and one in Balasore. He has as many as thirteen slaves "tant males que femelles;" some are given their liberty at his death. A Portuguese named Anthoine de Mathos of Bandel had as many as 19 slaves of which 17 were female.

Antoine de Mathos in his last will and testament, dated the 29th January 1712, lays it down as follows:—

"Item, declare donner sa liberté à Louise pour l'avoir toujours bien servy.

Item, declare que Patrice servira pendant 5 ans sa femme, qu'après le dt. temps elle sera libre.

Item, declare que Augustin et Ramanne sa femme serviront pendant huit ans son fils Philippe, qu'après le dt. temps il leur donne leur liberté.

Item, declare léguer à un petit garçon nommé Francisque vingt roubles et aussy sa liberté, leq. vingt roupies resteront entre les mains des son fils Nicolas jusqu'à ce quel e dt. Francisque soit enagé et lor il les luy remettra.

Item, declare que la mosse nommée Ursulle aura sa liberté en payant à ses héritiers 20 Rs.

Item, déclare qu'il a un esclave nommé Louis qui est marié avec sa mosse Seraffine, que—navigue sur un Batiment holandois il y a 2 ou 3 ans, que sitot qu'il sera de retour de son voyage qu'il apartiendra à ses heritiers qui retireront ce qu'il pourra avoir gagné pendant les temps."

The following is one among a number of documents in which the master sets at liberty his slave in consideration of good service.

Pardevant le secretarire de la Cie de France..... fut present Jean Brignon Pilot du Gange lequel a reconnu et confessé... avoir donné la liberté a la né Theodore son esclave en recompense des bons et longs services qu'elle luy a rendus, se desaisissant en sa faveur de tous droit de propriete et autre qu'il pourroit avoir sur elle, consentant que son papier d'esclavage soit de nulle valeur pour par la Dte. Theodore faire et (disposer de la personne ainsi qu'elle l'avlsra bon estre et se retirera ou elle souhaitera— (7th July 1721).

J. BRIGNON.

VAGLIN.

DENIS.

LEMERY DUMONT.

An Armenian merchant named Coja Daniel, ordinarily a resident of Chinsurah, gives up all right of property in Marie "çreaçon ou elève de Catherine Reposse, habitante de [Balasore]." He also promises to marry her to a suitable person and bestows upon her a dowry—all this by way of a return for good services rendered to him during three years (20-12-1721).

Laurens Argans sells for Rs. 51 Madras a slave girl named Murielle "agée d'environ dix neuf ans, gentile native de Sylak (?) aux environs de Chatigan (Chittagong) to M. De la Blanchetiere, Directeur-Generale pour la



Cie de France" (21st April 1728), The highest recorded price of a slave is Rs. 80. The price varied according to sex and age.

In a contract of marriage, dated the 20th January 1723, between Felicie Cabate and John Basspool, the former gives a long inventory of her effects, both moveable and immovable; among the former she mentions the names of 18 slaves, mostly female, varying from 8 to 35 years in age.

One Sipline and his wife borrow from Sr. Vaglin Rs. 262 on the 1st April 1712, mortgaging their house, their slaves and all their property in general, including some jewellery.

The last will and testament of "l'Abbé Monier," dated the 23rd November 1719, contains the following:—

"Item. Vent qu'après sa mort tous ses meubles et effets en generale et la maison ou il est gisant malade, soit vendus a l'ankan, et le provenue partagé en cinq parties égales entre Joanne son esclave et Roge, Marie, Jibeline et Alexandre."

In the schedules of taxes, dressed for the guidance of the revenue farmers in the middle of the 18th Century in Chandernagar, I find the following:—

"Les rentes d'esclaves sont d'une roupie et quart pour le papier et de cinq pour cent de prix de la vente de chaque esclave payable par toutes personnes de quelque condition qu'elles soient." (30th August, 1752.)

The schedule bears the signature of Dupliex and his councillors on the one hand and of Indinarane Chowdhry, the Revenue-farmer, on the other.

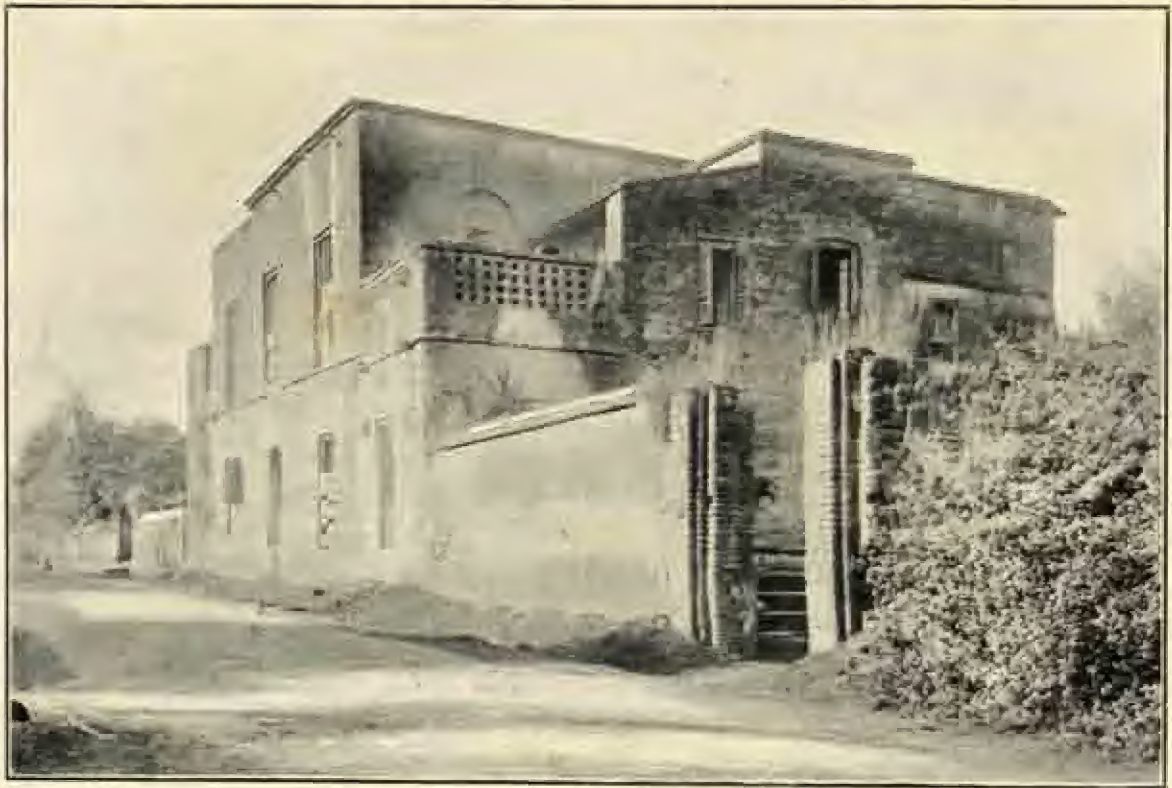
The next document quoted below is one among a lot of the same kind in existence. From the contents it would appear that export of slaves from Chandernagar to the island of Bourbon was forbidden by the orders of the local Council and every Captain of a merchant vessel leaving the port of Chandernagar had to make a solemn declaration that he carried no slaves among the passengers. The passengers themselves had to declare if they were accompanied by a native Indian servant, that he was not his slave but a freeman.

"Pardevant le Secretaire de la Compagnie greffier en chef du Conseil de Chandernagar Notaire audit lieu Soussigné fut présent Le Sieur de Preville Quinette, Capitaine Commandant le vaisseau de la Compagnie des Indes, de France *La Reine*. Actuellement Amarré en ce port, lequel en execution des ordres du Conseil d'Administration à lui dûment notifier et donner à Entendre, à Promis et s'est obligé envers la dite Compagnie, représenté par Monsieur Joseph Dupliex, Directeur Générale pour la dite Compagnie dans la Roiaume Bengal, Barar second de ce comptoir, Guillaudeau, Bourlet d'Hervilliers, de la Croix de St. Paul et Groiselle conseillers audit Conseil, tous stipulants pour elle et aussi comparants, de ne faire directement ny indirectement aucun commerce d'esclaves aux îles de Bourbon et de France, ny d'aucuns vivres, Boissons, ny marchandises d'Europe ou des Indes à peine de confiscation au profit de la compagnie, des dites esclaves, vivres, Boissons et









CHANDERNAGORE. THE BUILDING TO THE W. OF "WATT'S BUNGALOW,"  
SAID TO HAVE BEEN THE OLD FRENCH HOSPITAL.

[Photo, by S. N. Ghosh.]



CHANDERNAGORE. REMAINS OF THE CHURCH OF ST. LOUIS.

[Photo, by R. L. Mukerjee.]



Marchandises et de perte de son port primes et des salaires de sa compagnie à quel le dite Sr. de Preville s'est expressément soumis par ces présentes, dont les dites Sr. du conseil ont requis acte, à eux octroïé.....fait et passé à Chandernagar en la chambre du conseil l'an mil sept cent trente deux le vingt unième jour d'Octobre avant midy."

(Sd.) PRIVILLE QUINETTE,  
DUPLIX and others.

"Pardevant le Secrétaire etc., etc.....fut present le Sient François de St. Hilaire officier de vaisseaux de la Majesté de present en cette colonie.....a volontairement..... déclare que le nommé Pière agé de quinze à Seize ans qu'il fait embarguer avec lui sur le Vaisseau de la compagnie *La Duchesse* pour repasser en France n'est pas son esclaves mais seulement son serviteur domestique et libre, lequel le d<sup>e</sup> sr de S<sup>t</sup> Hilaire ne peut ny entend vendre ny engager. Laquelle Déclaration les dits S<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Hilaire a dit faire ainsi pour servir et valloir en terms et lieux et à q<sup>u</sup>il appartiendra.....fait et passé à Chandernagar.....l'an mil sept cens trente trois le dix septieme jour de janvier. Après midy....."

The following is reproduced from "Selections from *Calcutta Gazette*" Vol. II., page 228. (W. S. Seton Karr, 1865):—

"We understand Monsieur Montigny, Governor of Chandernagar, has lately issued a proclamation prohibiting all persons within the jurisdiction of the French Government from purchasing or transporting any of the natives of these Provinces as slaves, and in order more effectually to prevent this infamous practice a reward of forty rupees is offered to any person who shall give information of the offender besides the sum of ten rupees to be given to each slave who shall be released in consequence. Both sums to be paid by the offender.

"The master attendant of Chandernagar is also directed to see that no native be embarked without an order signed by the Governor, and all Captains of vessels trading to the port of Chandernagar are strictly prohibited from receiving any natives on board" (17th September 1789).

I have found no trace of Montigny's proclamation among the papers in the Administration here.\* The proclamation, however, if actually issued, could not apply to the regular trade in slaves, as that was only prohibited in the colonies by the decree of 27th April 1848, as already stated; it evidently referred to clandestine transactions and to kidnapping men and women for making slaves of them. In any case the proclamation could never be a special order for Chandernagar but only the copy of an order applicable to all the colonies of France in India.

A curious account of kidnapping in connection with the recruitment of slaves is given in *Anandaranga Pillai's Diary* (Vol. I., p. 227) under date 25th June 1743. One M. Soude was the dealer and one Parmanandan his recruiting agent. The Diarist says:—

"M. Soude, who serves under M. Cornet, the keeper of the warehouse in the port, commissioned Parmanandan to bring him slaves, and gave him a certain sum of money for that purpose. Parmanandan sent out his men to collect these: they purchased some

\* [Vide *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. VI., p. 170-1 (above).—Ed.]



and inveigled others into their clutches. They either mixed some deleterious material in the lime which the victims used with their betel and nut, or placed them under a spell by means of the magic paint, which they carried in a box in their hands. And then overpowering them, reduced them to slavery. Many slaves were thus acquired and brought into Pondichery..... It further transpired these Kidaappers possessed a house in a village near Tranquebar and that they were in the habit of alluring there the people living in the hamlets to the west of that place. Batches of fifty or a hundred individuals were imprisoned at one time in the building. They were conveyed during the night, in a boat to Ariyankuppam, where they were confined in a house belonging to Paramanandan. Here their heads were shaved, black cloths were given them to wear and each individual had a fetter placed on one leg. During the night, they were removed again and brought to the house of M. Soude, when they were put into the slave prison until a vessel came to take them away, when it arrived they were placed in boats and carried on board."

From the excerpts given above from the old papers it stands out clearly, that there were two kinds of slaves—those that could be sold, mortgaged and exchanged like any moveable property and thus fulfilled the orthodox definition of a slave, and those that were called "élèves" or apprentices in whom servitude was conditional and temporary; secondly, that all slaves were baptised into Christianity either before or after they entered into bondage; and, thirdly, that the slave owners were Europeans—French, Portuguese, Dutch or English and not a few were Armenian Christians.

There is no evidence of African slaves having ever found their way into French India; the indigent population of Chittagong, Orissa and particularly the neighbourhood of Pondichery was the source of supply of such slaves as were found here.

It has been pointed out above that in 1848 commerce in Slaves was abolished by law in the French colonies including those of India. By that time the local trade in slaves seems to have become attenuated and its character also undergone a change. It is interesting to read in this connection the correspondence that passed between the Governor of Pondichery and the "Chef de Service" of Chandernagar.

PONDICHERY, le 19 Juillet 1845.

MONSIEUR LE CHEF DE SERVICE,

Je vous prie de vouloir bien vous informer, dans votre établissement s'il existe de individus natis indiens ou autres engagés soit pour la culture de terre, soit pour service personnel à l'intérieur des maisons. J'entends parler d'individus engagés par suite de l'imprunt d'une somme d'argent et dont la liberté et celle de leurs enfants, est ainsi en quelque sorte, aliénée jusqu'au paiement définitif de la somme qu'ils ont empruntées.

Je vous serai obligé de me faire connaître le plus tôt possible s'il se trouve dans votre Etablissement des individus dans cette position, leur nombre approximatif, les règles qui les régissent les suites de leur engagement, s'il est résulté des dits engagements quelque action portée devant les tribunaux, qu'elles ont été les décisions rendus.

(Sd.) PROUJOL, Gouverneur,



In reply, Colonel Law de Lauriston,† the then "Chef de Service," writes to say that ever since the establishment of the "Tribunal Actuel" (1816) no case of the kind have come up for decision; that engagements of the kind spoken of in the above letter "n'existent pas dans cet établissement, ils ne seraient pas acceptés par la population.....La population est ici exclusivement ouvrière ou commerçante, aucun individu n'y a aliéné sa liberté ou celle de ses enfans."

CHARU CHANDRA RAY, M.A.



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† [Lieut.-Col. Crawford in his *Brief History of the Hugli District* gives a list of "the Administrators of Chandernagore" in which Colonel Law de Claperton appears as Chef de Service 1844—1848.—Etc.]



# Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse.

## PART IV.



AFTER the unsuccessful affair of Cuddalore and the promulgation of the terms of peace with France, Colonel Pearse obtained leave of absence from the Army. The following letter in some degree explains the circumstances attending this application.

TO L. DARRELL, ESQ.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I had the great pleasure to receive your kind letters of the 26th and 31st of January, they came to hand on the 31st July at Chingleput, where I arrived the day before in my way to Madras, being driven away from the army by the King's Brevets : for General Stuart had been recalled, Major-General Bruce was going away to save his life, and the command would then have devolved upon a Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, *who has a brevet*.

"I am quite recovered, that is, my wound, as such is entirely healed ; but I am emaciated and worn down, and am not likely to get better : most likely I shall not ever recover the shock it has given my constitution, but I must bear it out as well as I can."

It appears from one of Colonel Pearse's letters to his Sister, that his Father's mother was one of the daughters of the celebrated Chancellor Hyde, whose other daughter was married to King James. As this is a curious circumstance in the history of Colonel Pearse's family, we give it a place without any apology to our readers, many of whom have given us the most convincing proofs that they feel the deepest interest in all the anecdotes connected with the subject of the present memoir. The same letter also mentions that the second wife of Col. Pearse's father was a daughter of Best, the brewer, of Rochester ; another of whose daughters says Colonel Pearse, "was married to Admiral Vernon ; and a third to one Miles or Mills, by which I believe came the Swanton connection.

TO L. DARRELL, ESQ.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Since my last, General Stuart has been dismissed from the service by the Government here, and is closely confined to prevent a civil war, by his designs to get at the head of the King's troops and to set the Government at defiance. The King's Generals sent in a remonstrance, and declared that they would not obey anybody but Stuart, and they would not obey Lang when the Government had promoted him to be a Lieutenant-General, in conformity to an order from the Court, which was concealed from us, till it was by necessary



published, to convince the Army of the propriety of the promotion and its legality, to establish the dependance of the King's troops on the Government here, and to enforce obedience to Lang."

"Major-General Burgoyne was at this time at the head of the Army: Lieutenant-Colonel Floyd, of the Light Dragoons, was second in command, as he is a Colonel in India only, and all the other Lieutenant-Colonels are so.—This Major-General who joined the Army after his return from Cuddalore, after the war was over, and this brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel found the promotion of Lang *so disgraceful* to them, that they *deserted* from camp, to avoid taking the posts he had assigned them in the order of march for the next day."

"I had been banished from camp to avoid the brevets, that is, *I went in to recover from my wound*, and I would not have joined under Burgoyne, who is anything but a soldier."

"Report said that the King's troops meant to refuse to obey, and to stand to their arms. I then flew to camp to obey Lang, under anybody, but they decamped, and the troops obeyed. I have now therefore joined the army, and at this time command it, Lang being in town.....I believe that I now stand as high in Lord Macartney's opinion as in Hastings's. When His Lordship arrived, he was hardly civil to me: we disagreed, he was taught by Coote to undervalue me. I have now within these few days heard him say, "If I had known you as well before you went to Bengal as I do now, it might have prevented much mischief." This was in a discourse concerning the measures and squabbles with Bengal. I have as far I could, without disclosing the confidence of either, endeavoured to preserve peace between Hastings and Lord Macartney for the good of the service; being fully convinced that man is not infallible and that one cannot be all rectitude, the other all baseness, unless absolute depravity is the characteristic of one of the two. Yet I see that peace cannot be preserved, there is somebody who inflames; who it is I know not, nor can I prevent it."

"In regard to the seizure of Stuart, when he wanted to set the King's and Company's troops at variance, Macartney is absolutely right, so I have told Hastings; and so I think he was in dismissing him. If he had not been seized, there would have been a civil war here; if he is supported, there will be one, and the Company will lose the Carnatic."

"What evil spirit could have put it into your heads to agree to supersede all your Officers here so cruelly, by suffering Majors, Lieutenant-Colonels and Colonels to come out in swarms with local brevets? We are men, Darrel, as well as they, and we have like feelings; we have capacity, courage, and experience: give them the former, then we are superior to them in the enjoyment of the latter."

MADRAS,

26th September 1783.

I am, &c.,

T. D. PEARSE

TO GENERAL PATTISON.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I wrote you a long letter on the 22nd of March, and sent also a letter to Mrs. Pattison. We are preparing to go and attack Cuddalore: we went, and did not take the place and we were saved from being cut to pieces by the news of the peace. Anybody but Stuart would have taken the place, but he was fifty days going one hundred miles."

The secret history is this, he knew that he was not capable of undertaking the siege, and he threw every possible obstacle in the way. Coote was daily expected: he wanted Coote to come and take the responsibility, whilst he with pretended zeal should be dragged



about in his cart to make observations, and find out faults. Government here at last made him put the army in motion, by telling him that they would recall him, make Pearse a Brigadier, and send the army under his command.—I had really presented a plan for the expedition before this, giving my opinion upon what ought to be done: I gave it afterwards *visa voce* before the Council. Stuart however moved to save his command, and to *mar* it moved as above. At the time we set off the French had hardly any provisions, and they had no works on the outside of the fortifications. When they heard that we were in motion, they collected what they could and erected redoubts to defend the river. They got supplies before we reached them. Three redoubts were thrown up north of the town; we marched to the south side, where there was not either redoubt, or river, but instead of taking possession of the bound hedge on the day on which we arrived, we remained seven days without any signs of life or motion. In the mean time the French threw up redoubts all along the south side, one more would have made *the line of Philipsburg*! Somebody who had eyes at last persuaded Stuart that another day would put it absolutely out of our power to attack, and oblige us to draw off to prevent our being annoyed by the guns of the enemy's advanced trenches. The attack was then resolved upon: the piquets of the army were strengthened by all the army that was in camp, except the Hanoverians and three companies of sepoys. I was ill in bed, but hearing what was going on, I reported myself well, and mounted my horse. Stuart posted me to the reserve (as he called the troops last mentioned), *under Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon*. This is what Stuart calls attacking with the piquets and grenadiers."

"The attack on the left succeeded without the loss of a man, and the troops got possession of about half a mile of the enemy's works, and of the posts which flanked them. Instead of pushing down *on reverse*, there they stopped by order; then we attacked what part of the enemy's works remained in our front, and we were beaten off with infamous, because unnecessary carnage."

"In my letter of July, I said the sepoys did *all*; now I am to describe it. The grenadiers attacked a post and were beaten off with great carnage; they retreated, rallied, and got ready for another attack. Stuart ordered the reserve, that is the Hanoverians, to attack a post in front, the grenadiers to do so on the left, and the King's toist and the 25th Bengal regiment to do so on the right of the same post. The grenadiers either mistook the signal, or were delayed, for they did not move; the Hanoverians reached the foot of the works, I was with them, and not thirty yards from the parapet; the toist on the right, ran away and left the sepoys who retreated in good order: this created confusion in the Hanoverians; I was wounded at this time, and I did not know that the toist had disgraced us so much till afterwards. How could they do better? Jails emptied had furnished the men! the half pay list gave a Major from the Cavalry who had lain by since the last war, and who, when he joined, declared to the Lieutenant-Colonel, that he was totally unable to assist him, being entirely ignorant of Infantry discipline; however he is a Major-General. The senior Captain was about 20 years old! the second Captain only 18! The Lieutenant-Colonel was taken away to command in the line, under his brevet of Colonel in India. The Major was a Major-General as I before said, and *he was left near Madras to command sick quarters*! As soon as the men were embodied they embarked for India, and so made a King's regiment to instruct the Company's Officers in their duty. Six hundred and eighteen Europeans were killed and wounded in this attack; and all not die, (for I am alive and some others,) but there were more killed than the number who survived their wounds. The French pursued the Hanoverians, and fought in the plains; *they could not overtake the toist*! The three companies of sepoys under Lieutenant Dias, seeing the redoubt empty, marched round after



they rallied (for they had been defeated), and took possession of it. The French then moved off to try to recover it. The Europeans grenadiers came up also, they had again attacked a post which resisted most furiously, they had to support them, the 13th Bengal regiment, and a Carnatic battalion. These sepoy were on the right, and seeing two bodies of Frenchmen coming down, they formed to receive them. The grenadiers, overcome with heat, fatigue, want of water, and the enemy's fire, gave way again, and took shelter behind the sepoy *who covered them and moved back in perfect order!* The right did not do anything for want of orders! On the 25th of June the enemy made a sally in three columns; they fell upon the 24th Bengal regiment, the 24th repulsed the French with their bayonets, and took prisoner the Colonel who commanded the attack. The grenadiers were behind the 24th, they made a retrograde motion, *said to be to make room!* it may be so, but it was an odd way to repel an enemy who had come round to the rear of the trenches. Whilst a part attacked in front, a firing ensued from the rear, and the poor sepoy were forced to lie down for a time: however they repelled the French, and preserved possession of the trenches."

"When Suffren returned from fighting Hughes, he proposed landing all his men, and if he had done so, it would have gone hard with us. News of the peace came just in time to save us."

"Sir John Burgoyne was not at the siege, but he got well enough to join the army the day it reached Tottarum, which is one short march from the Mount. There he took the command, and he made the whole discontented with their fate. After toiling to defeat the enemies of their country, whenever they could find them, they were now doomed to be teased to death with *saxmachism, to learn how to run through a puddle to attack pig-sties*. Lieutenant-Colonel Floyd, a Colonel in India, joined also with the Light Dragoons; I was in Madras, to get well of my wound, *though certainly it should never have been well enough for me to have gone and joined to attack hogs!*"

"General Stuart at last met his deserts. The Government have dismissed him from the Company's service:—grown desperate, he declared that he would continue to command the King's troops, and he attempted to set himself at their head, but the Government seeing that blood must be spilt if he was not stopped in his proceedings, wisely prevented the evil by seizing his person."

"The Company had ordered that an Officer of their own should always command in chief. Lang (who together with myself have and others elsewhere had been superseded by illegal local brevets) was accordingly made a Lieutenant-General. The King's Generals declared that they would not obey him—the troops talked of resistance—I flew out to camp to put myself under Lang. Lang ordered the army to march, immediately after an order had appeared from the Government explaining the reasons, and the legality of their act, and requiring all officers of inferior rank to Lieutenant-General Lang to obey him."

"The King's troops withdrew their orderlies from the Adjutant-General's Office—the Brigade Major refused to go for orders—the Officers said the troops should not move. Sir John Burgoyne sent a letter to Lang to desire that he would postpone the march *until he had time to consider*. Lang refused to comply, and Sir John Burgoyne and Colonel Floyd left the camp without leave at midnight. Major McKennie, a local Lieutenant-Colonel, went to Lang afterwards and said that he was ready with His Majesty's troops to obey his orders, accordingly the army marched. Thus Sir John Burgoyne, who never yet saw an enemy, and Colonel Floyd, (who till he got a local brevet was below me) deserted from camp to avoid serving under a Company's Lieutenant-General. Since it is so great a disgrace to them, we, who before had been tolerably passive, cannot after this any longer submit to the



indignity of acting under local brevets. I have therefore written a narrative of my services, and sent it to the Board, and I have asked in plain terms for superior rank. And I have written to my Attornies in England to get it, if money can buy interest, or friends will give it without the money. Your interest I have always had gratis, thanks are the least of all possible returns, and yet they are not always paid so punctually as they ought to be. I do not however fear being charged with not having endeavoured to shew my inclination to pay my debt; but paid it never can be whilst I live; therefore a like desperate bankrupt I will run as deeply into debt as I can, and I beg for what interest you may have in our line, to get me superior rank. I want the command in chief in Bengal,—I dare not say more,—but I will take it if I can get it, and I am certain I could not do worse than my predecessors, so probably I might do better."

MADRAS :  
27th September, 1783.

I am, my dear Friend,  
&c., &c., &c.,  
(Signed) T. D. PEARSE.

The following narrative of Colonel Pearse's services is the one adverted to in the above letter.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND SUPREME COUNCIL.

"HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

"Permit me to lay before you two orders, issued here two days ago; and in consequence of them to crave your attention to a settlement of my own case, and your benevolence and aid to relieve me from the burthens I labour under. I had the honour to address you on this subject some time ago, and as I have not had the happiness to receive an answer, I dare to flatter myself that the subject, if not before you, is not finally closed; and even if it then was, I will venture to hope it may be revived, and that the vigorous measures taken by this subordinate Presidency to extricate itself from the difficulties occasioned by the deluge of brevets, given by the King, and to relieve their Officers from the consequent disgraceful and humiliating situation, will induce you to think more favorably of my prayer and petition, than any merit in myself might urge me to hope you would do, from that consideration only."

"I marched with my detachment in 1781, and in August joined Sir Eyre Coote. I found Generals Munro and Stuart of the Company's and Colonels Lord McLeod and Crawford of the King's, with the army; the two Generals commanded the lines, Crawford the European brigade, and I was posted to the third. On the 17th August we fought Hyder at Pollyloor. In the beginning of the action I was detached from the left of the first line with a force, to reinforce a post occupied by Lieutenant-Colonel Owen. As we went along, General Stuart joined us; we went under his command to the place, and within five minutes after our arrival, he lost his leg; the command of the left then devolved upon me. Positive orders to support that post at all events, prevented my advancing on Hyder's right, where he commanded in person, as might have been done before 4 o'clock. The forces I had, independent of those of the post itself, I interposed between Hyder's army and the post; about 5 o'clock Sir Eyre came up, and finding the post less consequential than he had supposed it, he gave permission for us to advance, from where I was. We did so, and slept on the very ground that Hyder had occupied. Thus though,



in the beginning of that day I had three Officers above me, I had the chief command of half of the army the greatest part of the day, and led the line to victory."

"General Munro quitted the army; General Stuart was wounded; Colonel McLeod was sick, therefore I became the second in command under the Commander-in-Chief, or the third Officer of the army. Colonel Crawford commanded the first line, and myself the second at Sholingur. I did not get any orders from the Commander-in-Chief that I could possibly obey; therefore acted, during that whole action from myself. You have the orders of the Commander-in-Chief on that subject; this was in the month of September 1781."

"In November we went to Vellore, relieved it, and took out Colonel Lang, by which I lost the command of the second line, and had not any command till we reached cantonments, then I was posted at the Mount, which covered the whole."

"Colonel Crawford quitted the army to go to Europe; and Colonel Lang, in disgust at being superseded by Colonel Horne, in December; by which I became second in command. As such I marched the army from Madras to Pondamallee on the 2nd January 1782; then Sir Eyre Coote joined, and we went to Trippasore; on the 5th, Sir Eyre was taken with a fit and supposed dead. News was sent off in secret to Madras, in consequence of which Colonel Lang offered his services, and was suffered to return; even Sir Eyre Coote was not pleased with it, but as he had arrived in camp and was my senior, he was posted to the first line, myself to the second."

"We proceeded to Vellore and relieved it. On our way Hyder attacked our rear; the baggage and convoy were cut off from the army by a swamp; fortune had placed me in the rear, when, without orders, I took post with three battalions of sepoys and the rear guard, till all was safe across. It was my felicity to stop Hyder a second time, that very day in his attempt to get round through another road, to which Sir Eyre had sent me with a force for that purpose. You have Sir Eyre Coote's letters on that subject before you, and now the fact also. We had another attack in our way back, and a day of manoeuvres in the presence of the enemy. I still commanded the second line, and it was by my happiness to direct those manoeuvres."

"From what I have related concerning myself you will learn that under Sir Eyre Coote I never was lower than fourth Officer; and, within a month after my junction, was second. That in two general actions, two attacks, and one day of manoeuvres, I commanded a wing of the army, and Sir Eyre Coote has declared that I did it to his satisfaction. After my return from Bengal, I was second in command, and declared so in orders. An Hanoverian Officer, who had a Brevet of Colonel, was ordered by General Stuart to join us; he commanded the right wing in the expedition to demolish Wandewash and Carangolly—was recalled when we returned, and I went under General Stuart to the relief of Vellore. It is well known there was only a little rocketing on either expedition; but it shows that all this time I was second in command, and Lieutenant-Colonels Smart and Gordon, of the King's, were serving under me."

"In April we marched for Cuddalore. The day before we marched, the Brevets arrived; and from second in command I became fourth, by being pushed down by two Lieutenant-Colonels out of eleven, who had been brevetted over me. Since that five Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels or Majors, having Major-General's rank *in India only*, and a string of Lieutenant-Colonels and Majors, having rank as Colonels *in India only*, have come above me."

"I doubt the legality of local Brevets, under the Act which limits our rank to that we hold with King's Officers; but I am convinced of the injury I receive by being commanded



by Lieutenant-Colonels and Majors, whereas by the Articles of War, I ought not to be commanded by any but Colonels or their superiors."

"The Government here finding the inconvenience of this state of double commissions, have at last been forced to remove General Stuart; and acting under the authority of that order of the Court of Directors which directed that Brevets should be given to keep the command in the hands of their own Officers, they have at once promoted Colonel Lang to be a Lieutenant-General."

"Agreeably to a clause in the Act of Parliament all orders sent to India, are laid before the Secretary of State: therefore the order alluded to, is an order approved by His Majesty's Ministers: consequently, the power to give Brevets was known, and thought to be a proper one, by the superiors of those whose rank so grievously oppresses the Company's Officers, and most so myself, who, having served through the whole war with credit to myself and my employers, am pushed down from the object of every soldier's wishes, and so disgraced, instead of meeting the reward which I have laboured to merit. But this is not the full measure of my grievances, I am about to suffer another of a different nature, as I shall now state."

"In 1765 I came out a Major to Bengal—Horne, a Captain of Artillery, to Madras; to which rank he was restored, having gone home in consequence of having been deprived of his commission. I was made a Lieutenant-Colonel in 1769—Horne, a Major in 1771. After that, he obtained the Brevet rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and went home again; there he obtained a removal to the Infantry, with orders to rank above Colonel Lang. On his arrival he was appointed accordingly, with rank of Colonel from the 11th October 1772, but if he had remained in the Artillery he would only have been a Lieutenant-Colonel from 1782; and if a Colonel from his arrival, then he would have ranked from the same year, or if he had come on direct in the fleet that was captured, from since time in 1781, consequently, in either case he must have been below me."

"Orders have since arrived, restoring Lang to his rank above Horne; if that had been expressed by taking away the extra-rank given solely to put him above Lang, I must have been above him: but the orders remain in force, and so he ranks as Colonel, from a period before he was even a Lieutenant-Colonel, by brevet; and, when he arrives, will except to command me, nor can I help myself, or avoid it, unless you take pity on my case."

"From all that I have written, it appears, that though I have served with credit during the war, I have been continually thrust down by brevetted Officers, who have not served at all, or not till near the close of it; and now I am about to be pushed still lower, by an accidental arrangement concerning the ranks of Horne and Lang, which has been overtured by subsequent orders from home, though the order given in consequence of the arrangement remains in force."

"That the falling lower by the promotion of Juniors is deemed intolerable in the King's service, may be gathered from the conduct of McLeod and Humberston, on the Malabar Coast, who retired from the army *whilst on service*, because Mathews was promoted to a Brigadier General, which prevented his being superseded by the brevets of those Lieutenant-Colonels at that time expected, but which had not been received; and by the conduct of Major-General Burgoyne and Lieutenant-Colonel Floyd (*a Colonel by Brevet in India only*) who have now quitted the army in consequence of Colonel Lang's promotion to Lieutenant-General."

"Our feelings, as Company's Officers, are precisely the same; I can at least answer for mine, though I submitted for the sake of continuing to do my duty in my station; but now



stung by the examples or precedents just exhibited, I feel more than ever, the indignity of the supersession by local rank."

"I therefore pray you to grant to me superior rank, to support the dignity of the Company's service, and to relieve me from a burthen which King's Officers deem intolerable."

"MADRAS,  
17th September, 1783."

"I am,  
&c. &c. &c.  
(Signed) T. D. PEARSE."

"P.S.—Since I sent off the original, I have learnt that the order, giving power to appoint Company's Officers by brevet, above the King's, was assigned as the cause of Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford's going home; who though only a Colonel by local brevet, could not bear to submit to the thoughts of future supersession, as he termed it."

It is probable that the termination of hostilities, and the return of the Bengal detachment, were the only reasons for non-compliance with Colonel Pearse's solicitation for superior rank, as his claims upon the Government were of no ordinary nature, and the boon but an act of justice to have bestowed upon him.

The mind of Colonel Pearse was not, however, to be altogether borne down by any supposed or real grievances or disappointments; and the following letter, written about this time, shews that the interests of science were not forgotten.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

"SIR,

"The small book that accompanies this letter, written in the Persian language, is a copy of a very large one in the same language, entitled "The Wonders of the Creation." It is in fact a kind of general natural history, extracted by the compiler, from the books of science, and from voyages and travels performed by the Arabians; who, it is well known, had not only a great foreign trade, but extensive settlements in the Islands of the East Indies, where their manners and religion do still prevail. I beg of you to present it to the Society in my name."

"The book opens with an account of the wonders of the heavens and the celestial spheres. The system is the Ptolemaic; to each planet, except Mars and Jupiter, figures are annexed, and blank spaces were left in the book, to be used for the figures of those planets. You will see that the sun and moon are drawn as among us.——Mercury is represented as in the act of writing with paper and pen in his hand, and the ink-pot before him.——Venus is a woman sitting down and playing upon a stringed instrument resembling an Irish harp, but that which occasions this letter, is the figure of Saturn. By inquiry amongst the learned of these parts, Mars ought to be represented as a warrior, and Jupiter as an old man sitting down, with four girls dancing round him. The book says something contrary to this: I never saw the figure, therefore simply relate what was told me."

"The book was written in the fifth or sixth century of the Hegira, and that which I borrowed, and from which my copy was taken, is in the possession of Mr. Palk, in which the figures are all paintings; but the age of that copy I cannot tell."

"It is now time to tell you why I trouble you with this book, though I must first inform you, that I had it copied solely for the sake of the figure of Saturn; and had begun to translate the part that treated of celestial bodies, to send home with a copy of the original to the



illustrious Society about four years ago, but the difficulty of getting the figures drawn, prevented my carrying my design into execution : however, in the year 1780, having got what I wanted, I sat down to do my part. The war with Hyder Ali, however, carried me from home into the Carnatic, and though I have had the part that was intended for the Society with me all the time, yet I really have not had time to translate it, except the small part that ascertains the age of the book and the account of Saturn, in which however there is not any mention of the satellites or ring ; and the account of this periodical time, is erroneous, and plainly relates to the seventh planet, *the period of which is about sixty years, and which is very seldom seen, and when seen, deemed ominous to the world in general* ; so says the learned Brahmins with whom I conversed. The instant I saw the figure, it struck me as emblematical of Saturn, and as representing him possessed of what, till very lately, we were utterly ignorant of, I mean his satellites and ring. Hitherto only five satellites have been seen by Europeans, he is there represented as having six, and their names, I presume, are expressed by the figures held in the hands ; the arms shew that these bodies are movable, but cannot separate from the planet, and are capable of various motions within certain distances : the seventh holds the crown divided into four parts, and this I suppose to mean the four concentrical parts of the ring ; the darkness under the arm which holds the ring denotes that the ring does not everywhere touch the body of the planet ; the legs folded beneath the body, I imagine to relate to the ring, and to intimate that the ring supports the body of the planet, or, at least, that the body appears to rest upon or within it. I conceive that the long beard and emaciated body, denote age, and represent the slowness of his motion."

"If it be urged that this explanation cannot be just, for the ancients had not instruments capable of shewing them, I answer, it is more than we can prove ; and if ever a sixth satellite be discovered, it will be a strong argument in favour of the contrary opinion. I am much inclined to believe they had better instruments than we have. I must in this letter aim at brevity, therefore shall only say that Alhazan wrote on colours and catoptricks, and the problem of finding the figures of objects reflected from a convex specula, is called Alhazan's to this day. I have not seen Alhazan ; if I could get it, I could with the assistance this country would afford me, come at the knowledge of its contents, and perhaps might find telescope ; but if not, it does not seem any argument against there having been such instruments ; for we know how easily manuscripts are lost, and of such books as those which treat of subjects in which only the learned in particular sciences are concerned, the number of copies will have been few ; even now when such numbers of copies of most books are published, do we not find that many are lost, or only to be found in very extensive libraries ? Much more easily then might the same thing happen before, when only manuscripts were in use, and when we reflect how few men in any country make use of telescopes, quadrants, and such instruments, we may easily conceive that the copies of books treating of such matters would be very few, compared with astronomical tables, which were in greater use on account of their utility in astrology : but these are scarce, and it is difficult for Europeans to get them."

"I shall now adduce something like a proof of there having been telescopes, though perhaps not like ours. First, then, I asked a learned Mussulman with whom I had frequent conversations on those subjects, whether they had any mention of such instruments as we now use ; he said 'he did not recollect that there were any, except Alhazan among the Arabs, who had ever, that he knew, written on such subjects ; nor do I know' added he, 'that he did describe such instruments, but he treats of the principles on which they depend.'"



"I must here observe, that since Alhazan wrote on colours and reflections, if not on refractions through prisms and lenses : the not finding of any uses to which the specula were applied, will certainly prove that there were not telescopes."

"Let us suppose a treatise on reflection and refraction, and of the places of figures formed by either to be written purely scientifically, without any mention of telescopes, or any application of the uses of the theorems : that by some accidents, possibly from the revolutions of time, all other books in which telescopes and their uses are described, and all telescopes had perished ; if such a treatise were then to be found in any remote period, the finder would not easily discover the use of those theorems, and still less the instruments formed upon the principles therein delivered."

"Alhazan delivered principles—artists might possess the application, perhaps not even committed to writing, but learnt as trades are now learnt, by working and practice."

"A Brahmin, with whom I discoursed, and asked how they made their tables, said that they were formed a long while ago, by means of great pits dug in the earth, in which the celestial bodies were made visible, but what means they used to see them he did not know ; he said he could only use their tables, but could not form them—that the sun had formerly delivered the tables to a learned Brahmin, who had continued above sixty years constantly adoring him, as a reward for his labours. This Brahmin agreed that what he said was allegorical, and simply meant that they were formed by a series of observations diligently made : but so little could I make of them from their discourses, that instead of gaining light, I seemed rather to lose them. And though the Mussulman thought of Alhazan as I do, and moreover told me that the observation of the transit of Venus made by our Horrox, which I reduced to the Hegira, was not the first, for that mention is made of one a long period before that in an Arabic book (he quoted the name of it, which I have forgotten, but I have the name in Bengal amongst my papers), yet the want of actual knowledge of the use of telescopes, threw all into doubt. However one day as I was reading an English translation of the "Arabian Nights" I met with mention of these things as common as apples and carpets. Three princes went to seek for curiosities, and the Fairy Purrée Bannoo, furnished each under different shapes with what he wanted : to one she gave a small carpet, for an immense price, not from its curious texture, but from its property of transporting him who sat on it to the place to which he wished to go ; to the second an apple that would cure disorders by being laid on the sick person ; and for the same price she sold to the third, a telescope that was endowed with property of shewing to him that looked through it what he wished to see if he looked through one end, and objects as usual if he looked through the other, and it is described as a small tube of ivory, having a glass at each end. If then that book was written before telescopes were in use in Europe, and that is ascertainable, then telescopes were things in common use before we had any idea of them ; and they are not described as being such as Dolland has since made, they were telescopes, and amongst those who even now mention telescopes occasionally, how few will describe those exquisite ones applied to astronomical observations ! That useful inventions perish in time, have we not instances enough ? the mummies suffice. Even in our own days have we not seen Dolland perfect telescopes by the addition of three object glasses ? And are we not in danger of losing them again from the want of the materials to make one of the kinds of glass used by him ? Gunpowder is also thought to be, as I may call it, compared with great antiquity, a modern invention ; and yet in "Gray's Gunnary," there is a quotation from a Greek author, that gives reason enough to suppose it was applied to guns even in the time of Alexander."

"Much more I could add on the subject, and had written when in Bengal to send to you, but in my present situation I can only add, that the loss of any science is not proof that it



never was known, and all I purpose is to present the figure of Saturn as I found it, and to give you my reasons for explaining the emblem as I have done, which yet remains to be made out by some future discovery of the sixth satellite, the existence of which is not thought to be totally chimerical<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> I shall not scruple to inform you of things which may seem wonderful, which come within my own knowledge. I have the prediction of three comets and an earthquake, which I received long before the events: the earthquake did actually happen, and devastated the extensive regions round Lahore——unfortunately that paper is in Bengal——Mr. Hastings has a copy of it, signed by me, with day marked upon the paper, to shew when I received it, which was in June, and I think the earthquake happened in September, or the latter end of August 1779 or 1780."

"But I send to you the copies of the other two predictions one of which was fully verified at Bath, though being on my march, I had not time to look out for it, as I certainly should have done had I been settled."

"The Brahmin has promised me a table of 108 comets, and when I return to Bengal, if he is living, I will endeavour to get them; he says they are of different kinds: some have straight tails, some crooked tails, and some fan tails—some are encircled with a burr, and some without any—again, some are retrograde, some direct, and others cross the heavens. I hardly dare tell you that the books was, as he says, written in the jugg preceding this, and that this began with what we call the Creation."

"When we arrive at some knowledge of the Shanscrit, we may make discoveries of some importance, and either verify the assertions or contradict them. I relate what was told to me; I do not pretend to vouch for any thing, but the man had not any interest in deceiving me. I asked for information after the manner of a disciple, proposed questions arising from the discourse, and making comparison of what he said with our system for further information. He replied, you and the Mussulmans differ from each other and from us: the Mussulman supposes the sun to go round the earth, daily and annually; but the earth turns round its axis daily, according to your system and our's—the Mussulman follow Ptolemy, we the ancient books, and you a system of your own, if not derived from our's."

"Here I must put an end to a letter, which I fear, will prove tedious, more especially as it concerns matters which I relate merely to shew some part of the belief of some of the men of science of the Hindoo tribe, who are not very communicative."

"I am, etc.,

(Signed) T. D. PEARSE."

"MADRAS, 22nd September 1783."

The following is a translation of part of the Book that accompanied the preceding letter:—

"The Section concerning the properties of the Sun.

"As the sun is the largest of all the celestial bodies, and is called the great luminary, so the astronomers call it the king of the stars—the Moon, the visier; Mercury, the secretary; Mars, the commander in chief; Jupiter, the judge; Saturn, the treasurer; Venus, the musician servant—the spheres, they call climates; the zodiacal signs, cities; degrees, towns; minutes, parishes; and seconds, houses; and this comparison is a good one, and through the wonderful goodness of the Almighty, it is placed in the fourth sphere, to the end that the productions of value may be preserved in a moderate temperature. For, if it had been placed in the sphere of the fixed stars, the elements would have been



far removed, and the products would have suffered from the excess of cold; and had it been in the first sphere, they would have been burnt up by the violence of its heat. And it is another mark of his kindness, that the sun was endowed with locomotion: for it had stood still, the heat would have been intense in one place, and the cold in another, the detriment of which is well known. But it moves—moves over all parts in one day and night, that every part may enjoy a portion of its rays; and in the space of a year, it inclines two ways, once towards the north, and once towards the south, to the end that both extremes may be benefited by it: than praise be the name of God, for He is great!"

"The body of the sun is one hundred and sixty-six times greater than the body of the earth; and the diameter of the body of the sun is forty-one thousand nine hundred and ninety six miles. It remains in each sign, thirty days and a part of a day, according to estimation and daily moves through a degree."

"One of the powers of the sun is, that it makes all the other stars vanish; gives light to the moon; and of the properties of the moon that have been mentioned, all are derived from the influence of the sun."

"Another of its powers is, that when it shines on the seas, and the heat operates on them, vapours arise from them; and these vapours when they reach the air are condensed by the coldness of it and form clouds: the wind transports these clouds to distant places, and produces rain, and so the dead earth becomes animated, and rivers and springs flow to enliven vegetables and animals till the next year, according to the word of God."

"And it is that God who sends from between the hands of His mercy, the winds to declare glad tidings, that 'when the clouds collect the rain, we will drive them to the dead places, and bring down rain from them, and from that water will be produced all kinds of fruits.'"

"Its power over minerals is, that the juices are collected within the earth, and when the sun acts on the drops of rain and the earthy particles, it produces the bodies of the metals, such as gold, silver, copper, tin, iron—and also rubies, emeralds, and other stones—and quicksilver, sulphur, arsenic, salt, and the like, and the benefit of those mineral bodies is well known. And another power of the sun over the earth is, that vegetables and corn and trees grow in such places as the light of the sun can reach them. And it is owing to the power of the sun, that the water-lillies and mezereon appear above the water: according as the sun rises, their stalks rise, and the leaves keep upright; and when the sun has reached the meridian, then it is, that they also are in most perfection, and as the sun declines from the meridian, these also begin to fade: and when the sun sets, they close till the next day. And the power of the sun over animals is, that when the morning light begins to appear they also begin to move, to look about, and become lively; and when the sun is highest, they also do these things most perfectly till the decline; and so the sun falls, their strength abates, and they become as it were weak, till the sun sets, when they retire to their place of rest, cease to move, and are as it were, dead till the sun rises again."

"And another power of the sun is, that in those places where the sun reaches the zenith, as in the countries of the Zangas and Abyssinians, the inhabitants are parched and black, their countenances are ugly, their bodies are dry, and their dispositions are like those of wild beasts: and those people who live where the sun is far from the zenith, such as—and—, have flat faces, are white in colour, and their dispositions are like these of domestic cattle."

"Barahrat tells us that the vertex of the sun remains three thousand years in every sign, and moves round the sphere of the heavens in thirty-six thousand years, and at this time, which is the eighth and fiftieth and six hundredth of the Hegira, it (the vertex) is in Gemini, and that is towards the north; and when the vertex reaches the sign Sagittarius



which is in the south, the regions of the north will become waste and deserted and the southern quarter which now is waste, will be inhabited, and the parts that now are seas will become dry land, and the dry land that now is, will become sea, and the north will be the south, and the south the north."

Here Colonel Pearse remarks as follows:—

"In this passage the change of obliquity is as clearly mentioned as words can express it, and yet this circumstance also was unknown till lately, and even now is doubted by some, who do not diligently explore the depths of astronomy. I shall shortly trouble the Society with a paper on this subject: time will not admit of it now."

*"Section concerning the Eclipses of the sun."*

"The cause of eclipses is, that the body of the moon is interposed between the sun, and our point of view, and the body of the moon hides the sun from us, and the rays of light which proceed from the eye, and extend to the body viewed, form a cone; the apex of which lies at the point of view, and the base of it at the body viewed."

"If then the moon have not any distance in latitude from the sphere of the ecliptic, the whole body of the moon will fall into the cone the whole body of the sun will be taken in. But if the moon have some latitude, then the cone is turned aside from the sun, and according to the degree of latitude some part only falls into it."

*"Division the fifth:—of the Sphere of Mars."*

"It has two surfaces, the superior surface is turned towards the sphere of Jupiter, and the inferior one towards the sphere of the sun; and the motion which belongs to it, is from the west to the east, and in one year, two months and twenty days it is completed; and the figure of its sphere is like that of the sphere of the moon or Venus, and therefore it is unnecessary to repeat it. The thickness of the sphere of Mars, according to the opinion of Ptolemy, that is to say, the distance between the upper surface and the under one, is twenty thousand and three hundred miles; and the diameter of the body of the sphere is seventy and six thousand and nine hundred and twenty miles."

*"Section concerning the properties of Mars."*

"Astrologers call Mars the lesser evil, because the malign influence of Mars is less than Saturn. Violence, conquest, and rapine are attributed to him. The body of Mars is equal to one-half of the earth nearly, and the diameter is nine thousand, eight hundred and thirty-five miles. And at the time it is direct, it remains forty days in each sign, and moves through forty minutes nearly in each day."

*"Division the sixth:—Concerning the Sphere of Jupiter."*

"It has also two surfaces, the upper one touches the sphere of Saturn, and the lower one that of Mars, and the motion that belongs to it is from the west to the east, and in eleven years two months and fifteen days, it is completed. And the thickness of the sphere, that is, the distance between the upper and lower surfaces, is twenty thousand three hundred and thirty-two miles."

*"Of the properties of Jupiter."*

"The astrologers call him the great good, because he brings good, and they attribute to him great charity and felicity; and his body is equal to eighty-four times and one-third and one quarter of the earth."

*"Division the seventh:—Of the Sphere of Saturn."*

"It also has two surfaces, the upper one touches the sphere of the fixed stars, and the lower one that of Jupiter, and the motion that belongs to it, is from the west to the east, and in sixty-nine years and five months and six days it is completed; and Ptolemy says, that the thickness of the sphere is 21,603 miles, and this is the figure."



*"The properties of Saturn."*

"Astrologers call him the greater evil, because in malignity he is greater than Mars, and they say that from him proceed destruction, and murder, and sorrow, and great grief, and all its accompaniments: God preserve us from him! And the body of Saturn is one and eighty and one-sixth times greater than the earth; and they say that the beholding of Saturn produces grief, in the same manner as the sight of Venus does joy. God knows best."

"Prediction of two comets, extracted from a small Almanack, into which I copied them from Mr. Hastings' Almanack before I left Calcutta, which was before January, 1781."

"First—10th January, 1781. One ghurree before day a comet will appear in the form of a flag, *Le.*, square; it will be seen fifteen days: it is of the kind called dwedge, or flag; its period is eighteen years: this will appear a little to the north of the sun."

"Second—March 1781. On the 5th of this month another comet will appear of the kind called vucker, or crooked, from the sphere of its tail: it will appear six ghurrees before sunrise near the planet Saturn, and south of it. On the 25th it will appear in the evening; its period is 22 years."

We cannot pass this interesting communication without offering some reflections upon the subjects it embraces. The circumstance of the four girls dancing round the figure of Jupiter, as they ought to be according to the Brahmin's statement to Colonel Pearse, is a strong argument in favour of the superior knowledge of the heavenly bodies which the ancient Arabians and Hindus possessed. The four dancing girls evidently represent the four satellites of Jupiter. These *circumjovial* satellites (as they are styled by modern astronomers from the quick of their motions in their orbits) were not known in Europe before the year 1609, and the third and fourth only are visible, and this but rarely and in the clearest atmosphere to the naked eye. But it is truly interesting and curious that the figure of Saturn should be represented with seven arms. At the time Colonel Pearse wrote his letter to the Royal Society, the sixth satellite of Saturn had not been discovered: it was first discovered by Herschel on the 28th August 1789; and the seventh satellite, which the seventh arm of the figure, without dispute, must be intended to represent, was not discovered by Herschel until he had completed his grand telescope of 40 feet focal-length, when it was first observed by him on the 17th September 1789. All the satellites of Saturn are so small, and the planet is so remote from the earth, that the best telescopes are necessary for observing them. May not the seventh arm *having hold of the ring* denote a circumstance connected with the orbits of these planets, which is that the planes of their orbits so nearly accord with that of the ring, that the difference is not perceptible? Undoubtedly the ancient astronomers must have possessed the best instruments: probably differing from modern ones, but fully as powerful.

We are not aware that the Royal Society in any of its printed papers have noticed Colonel Pearse's communication, but our imagination, warmly



interested as it has been in all that relates to the subject of the present memoir, has pictured the probability that Colonel Pearse's paper may have met the eye of Herschel, and may have been an additional spur to the indefatigable and wonderful labours of that great man. The thought is too pleasing to us, as connected with Colonel Pearse's posthumous fame, to let it rest uncommunicated to our readers. We will now proceed with the memoir.

The Bengal detachment remained encamped near Madras from the time of their return from Cuddalore until the end of April 1784. During this lapse of time negotiations had been incessantly going on with Tippoo and a treaty of peace was at last concluded between this Chieftain and the British Government of India. The army was at this time many months in arrears, and discontent began to prevail in the camp, which at last wore a very serious aspect. In one or two instances the conduct of the troops was highly insubordinate; but the following letter to Major-General Stibbert, while it details an unwarrantable proceeding on the part of the troops, still speak in favour of that character of attachment to their Officers and to the Government which the Bengal sepoy's have ever deserved.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL GILES STIBBERT, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to send the returns for February, and have struck off those officers, concerning whom I had received your orders."

"I imagined my letter concerning the mutiny had reached you; there was a disturbance, and amongst our people only; it was occasioned by a payment made to the Madras troops secretly, when our's were omitted."

"I had obtained part of a month's pay and sent it out; but they refused to receive the part, though I had declared that the rest would be issued in the course of the week."

"They surrounded my palkee on the Christmas evening, and as I judged from the numbers and appearance of things, that it was a general mutiny; I jumped out of it, and seized the sword of the man who had laid hold of my palkee, he struggled with me for it, but as the hilt was in my hand, I became master of it, and then seized him, and declared I would put him to death on the spot, if a single man more approached, and to effect it, I threw off the scabbard."

"Being questioned what was meant, he said, I was going away, and they should be left without protection; that the Madras troops were paid for a month, and that I had offered only part of the same month's pay, though both were eight months' in arrears. After this I committed the man to the care of my orderlies, and intended to lodge him in fort, but the rest rescued him and let me go on."

"The next day Lieutenant-Colonel Blane sent to desire I would return to Trivatore, as the man had declared they would not receive less than four or five months' arrears and some, that they would have the whole. I returned instantly, and was received with shouts of joy. That evening I sent emissaries amongst them to declare my displeasure at behaviour which disgraced both them and me, and was to no purpose, because the money could not be obtained, if it could, they would not have been kept in arrears; and more to the same purport. Captain Williamson paid his battalion that night, though two men of the 13th regiment threatened to fire at them if they did receive it. The next day the whole were paid,



except one man, whom I instantly dismissed from the service, and banished from cantonments, and forbade any man of the detachment associating with him; they submitted to it quietly, and then I ordered the man who seized me, and one whom we had found of the two who threatened to fire at my orderly, to be tried and punished which was done, and peace restored, and has continued ever since."

"MADRAS,

10th March, 1784."

"I have, etc.,

T. D. PEARSE."

By combining that necessary decision of character, which will ever uphold subordination and discipline, and at the same time command respect, with an amiable and ever zealous interest in the welfare of all ranks under his command, Colonel Pearse had acquired an ascendancy over the minds of his native soldiery, which proved of the utmost value on the present occasion. By a mixture of severity and kindness, of punishment and argument, judiciously applied to the circumstances which called forth the exercise of either, the discontents were allayed, the real hardships were patiently borne, and the conduct of the Bengal detachment, at the period of their final departure from Madras, was such as to call forth the warmest eulogiums of Lord Macartney and the Government of the Madras Presidency, for their past services and their conduct both in field and in cantonments.

After resisting several propositions on the part of the Madras Presidency to send back the sepoy by sea, which on account of their prejudices at that time the native soldiery protested against, the happy day at length arrived, on which this gallant band of veterans were to set out on their return to their own country.

On the 22nd April 1784, the Bengal detachment moved from Curringur to the red hills, and the next day to the Cortelar river, which was the first regular stage on the route towards Bengal. On the 24th the detachment was at Spoomrasscodie; on the 30th of April at Korwari; and on the 4th of May at Nellore. At this place orders were received by Colonel Pearse to leave all his Artillery and Ordnance stores behind him, and to send back the European Artillerymen and the Lascars to Madras, in order that they might be sent to Bengal by sea.

On the 10th May the army left Nellore. The following letter will explain Colonel Pearse's situation at this time, and as it contains a clear description of the country through which the route of the army lay at that time, it is interesting as a record, as many changes in the face of the country may have taken place in thirty-nine years.

TO THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND SUPREME COUNCIL.

"HONORABLE SIR AND SIRS,

"The orders sent to me by your Secretary, and their explanation by General Stibbert, leave me equally in the dark as to your intentions concerning our further progress."



"I had the honor to state to you reasons why I deemed Cuttack impassable by the route I had marched, and why I thought Cuttack had another route if the Mahrattas would consent to our exploring it."

"I therefore beg to trouble you to inform me before we reach Ganjam, what you require me to do, because that I will do, if it be possible."

Chilca Lake opens into the sea very wide and rapid in the rains, for it receives a branch of the Mahanuddee at the north end, and all the torrents from the hills which bound it west and south. From thence to Juggernaith is a vast plain of sand. At a small distance from Juggernaith, there is a bridge with many arches, which is a continuation of a causeway, that runs half way to Cuttack; it is in many places above ten feet high, and yet in the rains it is barely above water. After this the country is intersected with a great many rivers, quite to Bhuderuck, at which place the Mahanuddee is above two miles broad, the southern branch being the shallowest, and about half the breadth of the northern, which was barely fordable at the time we passed. In the rains therefore it must be crossed in boats and so must several others between that and Bhuderuck, most of which have connection with that river, or flow from the hills."

"The rainy season sets in at Calcutta, in full force about the day we should have reached Ganjam, how far south the 21st of June is limited, I cannot say; but it is reasonable to suppose that the rivers are affected before the rains begin to fall in the country. The Godavary and Kistna rise in the very beginning of June, without any rain in the Circars. If the Mahanuddee takes its rise near the Soane, both will be alike affected, and the Soane is full in June. Whenever the Mahanuddee is full, all the low country is in cultivation, and of course is a quagmire. Such is the country we are to pass. In the dry season it took us thirty days to pass Cuttack—in the rains it would require a longer time to get to Bhuderuck. If I may judge from what I saw in the dry season. But Juggernaith and the Chilka may be left on the east, and the detachment could, if permitted, march through the mountains on the western side. I had Irikarraha who had travelled that route. The Mahrattas deny its existence, and yet they passed into the Ganjam district through this route once, with a large body. When we marched through Cuttack, Chinmaje was there with a large army. He was to the west among the hills, and he had wintered there with all his army; but in the plains through which we marched, he could not have wintered if he had desired it; unless he had turned out the inhabitants from every town and village all along the road to Cuttack. Since then he did winter among the hills, it is demonstrable that in those parts the country is drier, and produces fodder for horses in the rainy season."

"The Polloms near Madras were deemed inaccessible, till we entered them with our whole army. The mountains on the west of the China Lake, are of the same appearance as those which run from them, and from part of our country on the south end of the lake; the latter are passable in circuits and winding roads, and so are all the Polloms near Madras."

"The Cuttack hills appear like the Polloms at a distance. We entered them at the Coomraah river, and there they were precisely the same, so was the cultivation; and since Chinmaje did winter there, and his army did march behind hills parallel to us all the way, with guns, &c. I judge there is a road quite down to the Midnapore provinces, passable in the rains. Such a road is worth knowing; because if the Mahrattas should be our enemies, and allies of a foreign power, they might lead an army to your gates, at the time you might suppose the country impassable. Therefore if the Mahrattas would let us roam at large to seek a route, it would be advisable to order us to move, wet or dry."



"I must now just inform you that our thermometers are daily at 120° & at 105° by the time we get to our ground, and not below 95° till after five o'clock. To plunge at once into the rains, and continue through Cuttack, would be little short of a certain death.—It has alarmed most people, and been the subject of discourse; therefore I relate the fact, and submit the merits of the case to you, without even presuming to express a wish one way or the other."

"As an individual I should push on,—as a Public Officer I shall regulate my motions by my orders. I should be truly sorry to see these brave troops, whom I have led from Bengal through many difficulties, and who by going have done honour to this service and nation, exposed to destruction from climate. I fear it would be impossible to get through Cuttack early enough to avoid this evil; and I lament that if we are forced to stop, they and all of us must be kept from that home to which we all look stedfastly with longing eyes."

The remainder of this letter treats upon the distress which the troops may be exposed to if money is not provided to pay them their arrears on the route, &c.

On the 11th May the detachment was at Mamilidoro, Here an order was received by Colonel Pearse from the Select Committee at Madras, for the Artillery and Ordnance Stores which had been left behind at Nellore to rejoin the detachment with all despatch. It appears that a mutinous spirit had broken out amongst the troops in the Carnatic in two or three places, and the Select Committee deemed it advisable that the Bengal detachment should be again in its full state of efficiency for actual service, by resuming its artillery and field equipments. The following letter in some degree explains the circumstances:—

TO THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND SUPREME COUNCIL.

"HONORABLE SIR AND SIRS,

"About 9 o'clock last night I received the letter of which the inclosed is a copy."

"I presume that you are duly informed what agitates the councils of this Presidency, but as it is possible that they may not yet have sent any official accounts to you, I shall communicate what has come to my knowledge from the private letters of others."

"This Presidency having resolved to keep up the Cavalry, who were formerly the Nabob's, and who had served in our pay during the war, the Cavalry claimed nearly two years of arrears due from the Nabob for time antecedent of their being taken into the Company's service. The demand not being complied with, they mutinied, seized their Officers, European and Native, and took possession of Arnee. They fired at General Lang from the walls, and threaten to put their European Officers to death if their demand is not satisfied. So late as the 5th they were (at Madras) reported to hold out, and it was said that a force was sent to reduce them."

"This is the story as I have it from others; for though upon hearing it I wrote to Madras, relating what had come to my knowledge, I have not had a word on the subject addressed to myself."

"Nellore was one of the Nabob's military stations: there were in the fort 5,000 men when I was there, in 1781. They were then in arrears as far as the rest, and mutinous



and discontented. Having occasion to employ part of them, three days elapsed before their demands could be satisfied; at last the Foudar paid them a sum for their immediate use, and into my hands a further sum, which they were to receive when they joined the grand army. It was paid to their Sirdar, though very few of the original claimants remained at the time. After this it was found necessary to blow the Sirdar from a gun for mutiny, and latterly the whole were disbanded. The greater part of them live in or near Nellore; some have gone to Kurpah, and engaged with the enemy; but so many remained, that the President found it necessary to write to the Officer in Nellore to be upon his guard."

"This will, I presume, sufficiently explain the cause of the order 'not to leave the guns at Nellore.' But I had already left them, and therefore to prevent any bad consequences, I have halted, and have sent a sufficient force to bring them to me."

"Between Kurpah and Vencatagherry there lies a country subject at this time to the Rajah of the latter place; but it is claimed by the Nabob of Kurpah. As it was an appendage of Vencatagherry before the war, and of course came under it by the peace, hostilities ought to have ceased; but the Kurpah Nabob still carries on the war, and in this country, and has, I hear, taken the principal fort. I learnt that on our moving northward, he had retired, but on hearing that we had passed on he returned into it. This Nabob is the son of Mheer Sahib, who was killed at the battle of Cuddalore in 1781, and the contest about this very country introduced the late war, as I am told. All this is hearsay, and not on public authority, but I believe it is fact."

"Such a situation of affairs would account for the desire expressed by the Select Committee, that I should halt near Ongole."

"In Masulipatam, our Rajah has retired to his fastnesses; and I understand that the Government intend to disband their local troops, and to replace them by troops of the establishment generally. These may be the reasons for my directions to wait for further orders at Masulipatam."

"I thought it my duty to convey to you, all that has come to my knowledge; for though I presume the Government have more clearly, and from actual knowledge of their own views, informed you what directions they have sent to me; yet as there is a possibility that they may have waited for the issue, I thought it necessary to lay before you the probable causes, when I reported what I had done."

"I have written to the Committee, telling them that I have sent for the guns, that I shall not cross the Kistna till the end of June, nor then if they direct the contrary, but that I shall not stay later without an express order; because the river rises about that time, and cannot be passed afterwards without great difficulty and danger. I have also said that afterwards I shall wait their orders in the Masulipatam district, and I have apprized them that they ought to determine ultimately concerning us, because if we get to the north of the Kistna, I cannot even flatter them with hopes of being able to get the troops back to the southern side, should they be wanted."

"Thus far I have, Gentlemen, as far as in me lay, obeyed every order that has reached me, and I hope it will not be deemed presumption in me to request you will be pleased to let our guns be once more an object of your consideration. When I asked for them from Lord Macartney, it was on a maxim, which, if erroneous, is nevertheless fully established in my mind from the history of this country, our own, and every other that I have read. That the English in India are always to be considered in a state of warfare, and ought not to quit their arms in times of the most profound peace; because peace in India is only apparent



and cannot from the nature of man be solid, and because the instant they suppose it real and act accordingly, they will feel a blow which most likely they will not be able to recover. Let me apply what has happened, as above related, to this:—After a war of long continuance, on the conclusion of a peace, it was supposed that the Bengal detachment would not want guns to march through the dominions of the Company to Bengal. His Lordship (Lord Macartney) held my maxim to be too general, not well founded, and almost ridiculous: and yet Gentlemen, within a fortnight it was found necessary to direct this detachment to retain possession of the guns, and not to leave them behind, although secured in one of the principal fortresses of this part of the Company's territory, from fear of intestine foes. And though a peace had lately been signed, there was just cause to apprehend that the ratification of it must be completed by arms."

"Were I to relate what more has come to my knowledge of the commotions amongst the Rajahs and Sirdars dependant upon the Company, I might possibly expose myself to ridicule for my credulity; and yet I fear ultimately they will afford good arguments in favour of my maxim, and perhaps before we reach Ganjam it may be found necessary to send more after us by sea."

"Cutlack, Gentlemen, is in the hands of our allies, and yet there may be foes before we reach their country.—I own this is not likely, but it is possible—and supposing that we were to attempt to pass Cutlack, and that they should change in the interim, we should find it next to impossible to get through or back again without guns; but if the change were premeditated, and we had our guns with us, we could not be supported in our progress, and therefore should in all likelihood avoid the insult of the attempt."

"In regard to the expense, it really is no more than the hire and feed of the bullocks and drivers, and some small stores for repairs. The heat of the weather makes it impossible to travel faster without guns than with them; and the same would be the case in wet weather: for the baggage cannot travel faster than the ordnance, and where the baggage carriages can go, there can the guns travel also."

"It was your pleasure that the guns should be left behind in the first instance; I now wait for them by your orders. They shall be obeyed again in the next district; but foreseeing as I do, that it may be found advisable to have guns with the troops, I have presumed to give my reasons why I think so, and to support these reasons by recent facts, that you may have before you the new matter that has risen, and which I hope may induce you to think the subject worthy of further consideration."

"Permit me to add, that it cannot be any personal objection to me to ask for the guns, further than it is my duty to consider all that may contribute to the honour and dignity of the Company, and to actual safety of the troops committed to my charge; and since it does appear to me that keeping the guns with me will best answer those ends, I hope you will pardon my having ventured to send this representation, in support of an opinion contrary to that which you held, when you thought proper to give your orders for leaving them."

"From the interruptions we have met with and shall meet, I think it will appear, that it will be impossible we can get to Cutlack before the rainy season is too far advanced to make the attempt advisable without permission, to seek a road through the mountains."

"MOMILIDOROO,  
15th May 1784

"I am,  
with the greatest respect, &c., &c.  
T. D. PEARSE."



A few days after this, orders came from Lord Macartney and the Secret Committee, ordering the guns to be left behind, when the detachment reached Masulipatam. On the 22nd May the detachment was at Ongoli, and on the 24th at Kutepollam. The troops at this time were ten months in arrears! On the 26th the detachment was at Chundolo and on the 27th at Siccacollum. Here Colonel Pearse mentions a melancholy accident which happened with the army as follows:—

"Yesterday Lieutenant Dowe was killed by his horse falling back upon him; he expired in a few minutes after the accident. He was a young man much esteemed in his corps."

Exposed to these dreadful heats occasional chills from rain, it might be anticipated that the army would not be free from sickness. Colonel Pearse in a letter from the north bank of bank of the Kistna, to Mr. Hastings says,

"The rains have caught us already, and the consequence is great sickness.—We had 131 sepoy who required to be carried when we set off, and we have now 130, besides European and Lascars."

The detachment was at Moodinoore on the 29th May and at Ellore on the 1st June. Repeated applications for money to pay the troops had been made both Bengal and to Madras; but the distresses of the treasuries at each Presidency were such, that immediate relief could not be afforded. At Ellore, the detachment fell in with a body of troops who were paid up to the day; the comparison excited some discontent and clamour. Colonel Pearse writes from this spot to Lord Macartney as follows:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD G. MACARTNEY, K.B., GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

"My Lord,

"I have plunged into distress where I had least expected it, and consequently was but ill prepared to meet it. We have fallen in with troops paid up to the day, and it has created dissatisfaction in minds, which before this, were contented and happy.—I have heard the sepoy say, 'Sir, we are ten months in arrears—we came from Bengal to the Carnatic—were there in dangers and fatigues daily—far from our homes, and our families are starving. These troops have been at ease in these cantonments or garrisons, during the whole war, yet they are paid up to the day! Is this justice? or what justice is this!' Fortunately a lac of Rupees was procured at this station, and the troops were paid one month's pay."

"In a long letter to R. Johnson, Esq. written on the 2nd of June, Colonel Pearse writes; 'On the 26th of last month, we were within two marches of the Kistna, at a place called Chundole, where the French destroyed a magnificent Hindoo temple, the ruins of which are not yet carried away. They exhibit a fine sight to an antiquarian. Amongst other curious circumstances, there is a zodiac sculptured upon a pillar, with the signs the same as our's except Sagittarius, which is expressed by a bow only, and something defaced about the size of a hand at a distance from it, and except Capricorn, which is expressed by the head of the Alligator of the Ganges, (the Guriat) there are many other curious figures which I cannot now describe."

"Colonel Pearse mentions in several letters the anxiety of mind which he felt, in consequence of the distresses which the troops of his detachment were subjected to, not only



from want of pay but from the dreadful heat of the season. By promises and arguments, Colonel Pearse had allayed the prevailing discontents as much as was in his power, and earnestly implored from the Madras Government and from Bengal, that supplies of money might be collected to meet them on the route. It appears that Mr Daniel, chief of the Factory at Masulipatam, who had behaved so well in his situation on the march of the Bengal detachment to the Carnatic, was one of those who was earnestly solicited on the subject of furnishing money for the payment of the troops, and to him Colonel Pearse had not only detailed the actual state of things in the detachment, but had openly made him acquainted with his feelings and anxieties on the subject."

The following letter to Mr. Daniel on this subject must not be passed over:—

TO JAMES DANIEL, ESQ., CHIEF OF MASULIPATAM.

"SIR,

"Having been informed that the Kistna was rising, I have by a forced march of at least 23 miles, got across, and we shall all be over by dark; here we shall stay to-morrow, perhaps the next day, as I must allow time to rest after so great an exertion."

"Our sepoys have learnt that yours are paid up to the day—we are ten months in arrears; they draw comparisons and say, that those who have enjoyed the comforts of peace all the war, and have not been exposed either to fatigue or danger, are paid up to the day—we, who were daily exposed to danger or excessive fatigue, are ten months in arrears: what justice is this! with much more to the same effect."

"These discontents have arisen since we passed Ongole, and came to my knowledge only a day or two ago, when I wrote to the Board at Masulipatam, stating this fact, and desiring to have another lac of rupees, which, with the one we got by draft, will equal the remittance which I hear was made for us from Bengal."

"I shall liquidate three months by the rice and balance; still seven will remain. If I can promise a speedy payment, as, for instance, one on our arrival at Visac, and another at Ganjam, I shall be able to keep peace; but I fear it will be impossible unless I am assisted. I therefore beg your aid on this occasion, and I hope you will see the necessity of exertion. I cannot answer for consequences if I do not get it, and I think I certainly can if I do. Whether I get the money or not, I shall use my utmost endeavours to suppress the ferment, but if I cannot succeed, the blame will be off my shoulders, and I shall have taken every step possible in my present situation."

"The circumstance of your being paid to the day, was unknown to me till the time I mention; if I had even suspected it could be so, I should have stated it fully to Lord Macartney before I set out. The ferment that happened at Trivatore, which was next to a mutiny was occasioned by a payment of only one month made to the Carnatic troops in a secret manner; how then can I answer for consequences, when there are ten months' difference in the present case and must be seven after all my exertions, unless further aided?"

"I have sent an escort for the lac due for the bill, and hope for a favourable answer from the Board here. So much depends on it that I shall have very little ease till I hear; and if then it proves not to be such an answer as I wish, I shall hope that this further application may be productive of what I so earnestly solicit."

"FROM MY PALANKEEN,  
SICCA, 27th of May, 1784."

}

"I am, Sir, etc.,

T. D. PEARSE."



The answer from Mr. Daniel to this letter, called forth the following spirited reply :—

TO JAMES DANIEL, CHIEF OF MUSULIPATAM.

"SIR

"This day between 3 and 4 o'clock, at table, I received the honour of your letter of the 1st instant."

"The high respect I have for your station and person, makes it extremely painful to me to be under the necessity of giving the letter just received a particular answer; but as it bears very hard on the troops I command, and even on myself, I find it incumbent on me to reply to the several parts of your letter, in vindication of both."

"You are pleased to say that 'you are sorry to hear that the troops under my command, after the indulgence of a lac of rupees at Ellore, and every necessary provided for them on their march to their native country, should breathe a spirit of discontent, after so much has been done for them.'"

"I too am sorry that they expressed symptoms of discontent; but they did so, and it was my duty to prevent the realising of it. I am still more sorry that they have but too much cause to be displeased at the difference of their situation, compared with the troops of the Circars, and of the King's and Carnatic troops serving in the Circars; for you, and all the world will allow that there is a wide difference, because our's are now nine months in arrears, and the others are all paid for April."

"When the King's troops left me at Trivatore, they were in arrears; their Commanding Officer told me they are now two months in advance: and when the Carnatic troops left the army, they were several months in arrears, and they are now paid up."

"The King's and Carnatic troops were paid up by this subordnary, it is therefore reasonable to suppose, that you and the Council did it to destroy distinctions, and because it was a hardship for troops serving together, not to be an equality."

"Hence, then, it is by your own act acknowledged, that you deemed it a hardship that there should be any difference. It is at least as great a hardship for a greater difference to exist amongst troops of the same service, though of another establishment; and it is not to be considered as wonderful, that our's, who labour under these disadvantages, express their displeasure by murmurs; nor that I, hearing those murmurs, endeavour to discharge my duty to the service by seeking the ways and means to prevent public discontents and their consequences."

"When we set out, we received one month's pay, and were then nearly nine months in arrears, as we had been for many months before; having been above a month on our march, (in consequence of orders from the Select Committee, which stopped our progress), the debt due of the troops when they arrived at Ellore was ten months. At this time we received the lac of rupees to pay one month; that lac was all expended in the payment, and yet some Officers are not paid; and I myself have not had a rupee, though I am in very great need of cash, even for my table."

"It is not any indulgence to pay troops regularly, but is by all Governments deemed meritorious, when they will suffer their pay to be withheld, and arrears to accumulate; in cases of necessity; and consequently it is not any indulgence to pay the Bengal detachment a month's pay, at the end of six weeks, in which they have been exposed to such heats and consequent fatigues, as are very trying to the human constitution. If then any indulgence has been shewn to them, it is only in getting wood and straw, for they have paid for the rice as they took it."



"It is the custom of every service in Europe to furnish the troops with provisions, fuel, and fodder; and it is an indulgence in countries in which armies subsist, to do it: for, if it were not done, the troops must for their own preservation, take from the country articles, without which they must perish; but by their being supplied with them, the country is left unhurt."

"It does not appear then that our troops have had more indulgence than all other troops enjoy; yet they are nine months in arrears, and all the other troops we meet, are paid up."

"The part that bears hard upon me, is the last of your letter, in which you say, that if any money had been sent from Bengal for the use of my detachment, it would certainly have been received for us—I do not doubt it would, but if you will please to turn to my letter you will find that I only said, I understood it to be so."

"Three lacs were sent to Madras expressly for us: Lord Macartney told me so, and offered the bills to me. The same letter announced two lacs sent to Masulipatam, and that letter said the remittance was for us. Mr. Tyler saw the letter said and he understood from Lord Macartney, that when we arrived here, we should find another lac ready. This shews why I understood the money you have lately received, *viz.*, two lacs of rupees, was all for our troops, and consequently clears me of the imputation of inventing it."

"I am very sorry you find it *not convenient* to supply our wants—that is and all-powerful reason, and of itself was sufficient, without any reflections on us for pleading the notorious and great difference between ourselves and the troops we meet, to endeavour to get more money."

"I wrote to Lord Macartney from Ellore, in consequence of the answer from Masulipatam, laying before him the true statement of the murmurs, as the reasons for my application; for, be assured Sir, if I had not heard the very words recited, or others to that effect, you would not have had the trouble of answering my letter, nor I the necessity of vindicating the troops I command, against the imputation of being discontented without a cause."

"I again assure you, I shall do my utmost to keep the troops at ease in their minds; but I cannot say, it will be so. One lac and the rice accounts, would pay off three months, and liquidate a very long and intricate account; therefore, so small a sum would enable me to say, that I shall not have any further occasion to give trouble or to bear it."

"Before I close, I must just add, that in consequence of the letter I have received from the Board of Masulipatam, I had so far depended on an actual supply, that I had given hopes of the adjustment I mention, though not an actual promise of it."

"I found it necessary to set the minds of the troops at ease, if I could by words effect it; the letter was sufficient warrant for trying words, which answered my expectations, and the troops relying upon receiving the balance after they cross the Codavery, are now in the most perfect state of tranquility. But when they find that I fail, I cannot say they will remain so; and every word I shall say afterwards will have less weight than my assurances were wont to have. However I shall strive to the last; if bad consequence ensue, I have done my duty to the service, and I can only lament that I failed, when I thought I was sure of success."

"GESTNAGOODAM, }  
5th of June 1784" }

"I am, etc., etc.,  
(Sd.) T. D. PEARSE."

On the 6th of June the Bengal detachment reached the banks of the Codavery, and Colonel Pearse with a part of his staff got across, but the rise of the river at this time, and the want of proper boats to cross the



detachment delayed them until the 13th instant, on which day, the whole of the troops having crossed the river, the detachment proceeded to Rajahnaghur. On the 14th of June the detachment was at Peldapore, from whence the following letter was written.

TO CLAUDE RUSSEL, ESQR.

"DEAR SIR,

"You will very much oblige me by sending the two letters to Vizeram Raize and Siteram Raize; they are merely complimentary; but the attentions they paid the detachment when it went through the district, really merits every attention on our part, and of course on mine through whom that was shewn to us."

"Siteram was then the principal, now I find the other is; I wrote to both. I should be hurt much were I to slight either intentionally; most so, if I passed over him who is fallen. It is a misfortune to fall—but it is a wound to be alighted; on that account, and after his studied politeness to me, I should be criminal to do so."

"Thus, my dear Sir, I fairly state my reasons for being so very antediluvian, as to write to him who is in disgrace. I am only a traveller, and therefore not competent to enter into the why's and the wherefore's and consequently have not any business to know of internal changes which may be produced by crimes or by party; be very justly deserved or not at all. We see it is so in life, and enough of it in lat. 55° north, and therefore as I do not know your sentiments, I hope my taking the liberty to trouble you with my request, will not be an offence."

"I halt to-morrow to pay Mr. Daniel the compliment of showing our line to him, if he pleases to see it; and when we come within reach of you, I hope to display it to you also. We have not any guns with us, but we are what we are, and I hope worth looking at."

At this place a further supply of cash was received from Mr. Daniel, and the troops were paid for August, September, and October, 1783. On the 25th of June Colonel Pearse received instructions from the Supreme Government to canton for the rainy season at Chicacole. The following letter explains the orders:—

TO C. RUSSEL, ESQR., CHIEF AND COUNCIL OF VIZAGAPATAM.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Yesterday I received a letter from the Supreme Council, by the 2nd paragraph of which I am directed to canton at Chicacole, during the rains, which have cut off our communication with Bengal: the words are as beneath."

"The arrival of the last makes a particular reply from us to any of the former unnecessary. It will therefore be sufficient for us to acquaint you with our directions that you canton your detachment at Chicacole until further orders, or until the season will admit of your marching onwards, without risk to the men under your command; for we are entirely of opinion with you, that the health of the troops who have served the Company with such distinguished bravery and honour, is an essential primary consideration, to which every other but necessity should give way."

"I take the earliest opportunity of communicating to you the orders which I have received, and request that you will be pleased to grant to me your permission to canton



the troops under my command, in Chicacole, and to give such orders as may enable me to do so."

"SAHARAM,  
26th June 1784."

"I am, etc., etc.,  
T. D. PEARSE."

On the 29th of June the detachment was at Vizagapatam, where it remained in camp until the cantonments near Bimlipatam were ready for the troops, which was in the middle of the month of July. The detachment remained in cantonments until the 31st of October, when, the rainy season having terminated, the march towards Bengal was resumed.

The detachment was at Vizianagram on the 1st of November, at Ganjam on the 22nd of November, Cuttack Island on the 10th of December, on the 25th at Midnapore, where the troops were assembled to proceed on service, which circumstance Colonel Pearse reports in the following letter to General Stibbert.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL STIBBERT, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"SIR,

"I have the extreme pleasure to inform you that the detachment under my command is just arrived at the ground near Midnapore, where it first assembled to proceed upon service."

"We shall resume our march on Wednesday morning next, and proceed, agreeably to your orders, *via Burdwan to Ghycette*. My halt till that time will, I hope, be approved of, as the troops were all at different times long at this station, and have many connections round about, whom they wish to visit after so long an Absence."

"MIDNAPORE,  
31st December 1784."

"I am, etc.,  
T. D. PEARSE."

In the middle of the month of January 1785, we find Colonel Pearse arrived at Ghycette, and encamped with the veteran remains of his gallant detachment; and Mr. Hastings honoured the camp with his presence on the 24th of the month. The following General Orders and Minute of Council, are the proudest testimonials of the estimation in which the services of Colonel Pearse and the Bengal detachment were held by the Supreme Government:—

"GENERAL ORDER BY THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

"Dated Fort William, the 22nd of January, 1785."

"The Governor-General and Council direct, that their thanks be expressed in General Orders to Colonel Pearse and the European Officers, and the Native Officers and Privates composing the detachment lately returned from the Carnatic, for their gallant behaviour and useful services in the defence of the Company's territories in the Carnatic, during the course of a long and unequal war; and as a lasting mark of their approbation, they bestow upon each of the Sepoy regiments a pair of honorary standards; on each of the Subadars a gold medal, and on each of the Jamadars a silver one, with such a device, motto and inscription as shall be judged applicable to the occasion; and medals of the same sort to the Officers of the Golundauze company; also similar badges of inferior value, to such of the men,



warrant officers and privates as have served with the detachment from the commencement of the expedition until its return into the provinces."

"The Governor-General and Council further direct, that in acknowledgement of the services of the two great detachments which have served in the Carnatic and the west of India, an additional pay of two rupees per month be granted to each non-commissioned officer and private of the European corps; and one rupee per month to each non-warrant officer and sepoy of the Native corps composing those detachments, who were originally attached to the same on the march to their respective destinations, and returned with them."

"This additional pay to commence from the first of the present year."

"GENERAL ORDER BY WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR-GENERAL

*Camp at Ghycette, 25th January 1785."*

"The Governor-General, having already testified his sense in the General Orders issued by the Governor-General and Council, of the meritorious conduct of the troops lately returned from the Carnatic, can add nothing to the credit of their services by any acknowledgement which he, as an individual, can make them; yet they will not be displeased to receive from him the separate tribute of his particular and personal thanks, for his share of the reputation which their actions have reflected on the Government of Bengal, in its original appointment of the detachment to the relief of the Carnatic. Great as the exertions have been, which were made by the gallant troops employed on that service, it will in no degree from them to affirm, that to this aid the Company's possessions and interests under Presidency of Fort St. George owe their present existence; and that with every report made to this Government of the successes of the war, the most honourable mention was uniformly made of the Bengal detachment, as primarily distinguished by its patience of hardship, its generous submission to the pressure of those wants which affected every corps of the service, but which were to them, acting at such a distance from their native homes, the cause of aggravated distress; and by its steady discipline, activity, and effective valour."

"The Governor-General has deemed it incumbent upon him to visit the detachment in person, to offer his thanks to them before their separation; and desires that the Commanding Officer, whom he is proud to call his friend, will make them known in public orders to the Officers, his countrymen, and to the Native officers and private sepoys of the detachment."

"The term of his public existence is now within a few days of its close. But it is a consolation to him thus to mix with his regrets, for the loss of a service endeared to him by many years of care, attachment and vicissitudes, a declaration of justice and gratitude marking its last period."

"(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS."

"*Minutes of Council, 26th January, 1785.*"

"The following minute by the Governor-General, being so constant to the ideas of the other Members, and creditable to himself, they requested and obtained his permission for the publication of it at length, in General Orders."

"*Minutes of the Governor-General.*"

"The detachment sent from this Presidency to the relief of the Carnatic consisted, in its original formation, of above 5,000 men; and is now reduced by the service it has seen, to less than 1,000. These small remains being returned to Ghycette, the Governor-General yesterday visited their encampment; and he hopes that the Board will allow that indulgence to



his feelings excited by the mixed sentiments of gratitude and regret, which were impressed by the occasion, as to accept with candour the following recommendation, which it has induced him to make in their behalf."

"The Board have liberally rewarded the services of the Native Officers and privates of the detachment, and afforded such testimonials of those which have been rendered by the European Officers, as will be felt by men professing the spirit of honour which they have so signally displayed, with sentiments superior to such as are excited by the pledges of substantial bounty—neither it is easy to devise others. Such additional honours as may be bestowed the Governor-General now begs leave to recommend, and these are as follows:—"

"1st.—That a sword be given to Colonel Pearse, the Commanding Officer of the corps, and one to each of the Lieutenant-Colonels, his second and third in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Edmonstone and Lieutenant-Colonel Blane, both as testimony of their faithful and meritorious services, and for the incitement of example to others, their juniors."

"2ndly.—That the Officers who are now attached to the corps, in whatever degree of command, may be confirmed in their stations and commands, notwithstanding the general rules of appointment. Such an indulgence will be equally grateful to the Officers themselves, and to the men who have served with them, as the removal of the former for the sake of a literal adherence to general rule, would appear like the privation of the right, which the change of hard and severe service has given to the surviving Officers of the detachment, in favour of others who have enjoyed a long season of repose, and should be a cruel separation of the sepoy from the Officers, and operate as a more cruel hardship by placing them under strangers, to whom their merits will be unknown or unfelt."

"3rdly.—That the names of Officers be entered on record, for such future marks of the favour of Government as the rules of the service may admit; and to this list may be joined, on the same principle, that of the Officers who have lately served with the other great detachment returned from the other side of India."

"This is the last appeal which I shall make to my present colleagues in the administration, and I venture to declare, without consulting them that the sentiments of one are similar to my own, from the same impulse, excited by the personal meeting with men so deserving, and among them some veterans who were once his associates in the same career of military enterprise; and that those of my successor will not be less favourable, when to the spirit of liberal discernment, he shall have joined the same personal motives as those which I have ascribed to myself and Mr. Stables."

"(Signed) WARREN HASTINGS."

Such public records as these above quoted are the most gratifying and heart-consoling rewards to the breast of a soldier. And no doubt Colonel Pearse and the gallant veterans who are alluded to, received these public expressions of Mr. Hastings' feelings towards them with the most heartfelt joy.

Independent of other circumstances, our readers have only to reflect upon the dreadful exposure to an Indian climate in the seasons in which they were on their march, to be convinced that these men, both European and Native, were deserving of their reward. Colonel Pearse's health was now beginning to decline, and when he arrived at Ghyrette, he was too unwell to pay the accustomed round of visits to his friends, and the settlements of the accounts



of his detachment became now a painful and wearisome toil to him. Every expenditure necessarily incurred on the march, which was not literally allowed in writing, became now a subject of litigation; and Colonel Pearse's own personal allowances were made a subject of dispute, while he was called upon to answer in person for innumerable items of necessary expenditure. Colonel Pearse, however, took the earliest opportunity of accounting for all expenditures, and earnestly soliciting an early settlement of all accounts, as the bad state of his health rendered this act of justice absolutely necessary.

Amongst other sums the payment of which was disputed, was the allowance to Lieutenant Colebrooke, as a Surveyor; and it appears that Colonel Pearse first brought forward this young man in the line of his profession, in which he subsequently became so distinguished and eminent. In a letter addressed to the Honourable Warren Hastings, Governor-General, and the Supreme Council on the subject of accounts, Colonel Pearse writes:—

"On the 15th of November, 1783, I appointed Lieutenant Colebrook, to be surveyor of the detachment, then about to march as it was supposed into Kurpah. On the 18th of that month I notified it by letter to the Honourable Board, but was not honoured with an answer; therefore I concluded the appointment was approved of by them. In April, having occasion to write to the Honourable Board again on some further appointments necessary for us on our march, I mentioned that I ordered our Surveyor to officiate as second Aid-de-camp on his Surveyor's allowances: that is, without any increase of expense. The Honourable Board approved of the new appointments, and did not object to the Surveyor, or intimate that his post was not allowed; this confirmed me in the opinion I had formed, that it was approved on the former letter."

"At Ganjam I first learnt that the Commissary General had refused to pass his bills, alledging that the appointment had not been notified to him by the Board, and that it therefore did not exist."

"The survey was made as far as that place, and is since finished with astronomical observations, which prove its value to be far superior to any thing of the kind I have heard of. If Mr. Smith's, made on the same foundation is superior, it is the only one."

"I request the Board will be pleased to order the bills to be passed."

"By order of the Governor-General I add for the information of the Board that when Lieutenant Colebrook entered upon his office, he was not acquainted with the astronomical part; he however very rapidly acquired it, by means of the instructions I gave him, and has without any further aid from me, carried the survey on from the cantonments to this place."

"The plan is finished as far as Ganjam, and I could have had the honour of laying it before the Board with these papers; but I thought it would be better to keep it back, until the Surveyor has completed it, and this shall be done in a few days."

On the 26th of January, a Major Moore of the Bengal detachment destroyed himself by discharging the contents of a fowling-piece into his mouth. This melancholy circumstance was reported to Colonel Pearse (who appears to have been absent from Ghyrettee) by Captain Williamson, and we find the signatures of the undermentioned Officers to the opinion,



that "a violent depression of spirits, almost bordering on insanity," caused the fatal act.

"D. OCHTERLONY, LIEUT.

"T. EALES, LIEUT.

"G. A. SWINEY, LIEUT.

"EDWIN LLOYD, LIEUT.

"A. HENNESSY, ADJUTANT."\*

On the 27th of January Colonel Pearse forwarded the survey of Lieutenant Colebrooke to the Council.

"Honourable Sir and Sirs,

"I have the honour to lay before you the plan of the route from Madras to this place, together with an abstract of the observations, and a comparison of the survey with them."

"I avow having had a share in the labour, and what I did I have noted; and I held it to be as much a part of my duty to conduct a regular plan of my route, I have knowledge of the modes, as to make a true return of the number of men."

"I hope the accuracy of the survey will entitle it to your approbation."

"I am,

With the greatest respect,

etc., etc., etc.,

T. D. PEARSE."

"CALCUTTA, 29th January, 1785."

A comparison of the Survey, with the observations of emersions of Jupiter's first Satellite.

		<i>By observation.</i>	<i>By Survey.</i>	<i>Differences.</i>
Madras ...	...	2-80° 07' 03.5"		
Camp near Nellore 1st Im-				
mersion ...	...	79° 55' 45"		
Deduct to reduce it to an				
Emersion ...	...	10' 55"		
		<hr/>		
		79° 44' 40"	79° 39' 18.5"	0° 5' 21.5"
Peddapore 1st Immersion ...	...	82° 16' 26.25"		
Deduct as before ...	...	10' 55"		
		<hr/>		

\* [In the compound of a hake's villa at Champdani close to the River there are two European graves, with epitaphs as follows:—

To the Memory of Major James Moore,

Who so gallantly distinguished himself in the late war in the Carnatic.

He died the 26th of January, 1785, aged 34 years.

To the Memory of Robert Wilson, Esqr.

Many years in the Service of the Hon'ble Company.

Who departed this life on the 9th June A. D. 1813, aged 73 years.

The Ochterlony who signs this letter is, of course, the famous hero, commemorated by the pillars on the Calcutta Maidan.—ED., *Bengal: Past and Present.*]



		82° 05' 31.25" ... 82° 01' 57.5" - 0° 3' 33.75"
Viragapatam	...	2-83° 15' 24" ... 83° 15' 26.5" + 0° 0' 02.5"
Bemulwilsa	...	4-83° 18' 44.25" ... 83° 21' 07.5" + 0° 2' 23.25"
Kalingapatam	...	1-84° 10' 37.5" ... 84° 10' 13.5" - 0° 0' 24"
Ganjam	...	1-85° 02' 45" ... 85° 09' 09.5" + 0° 6' 24.5"
Jehanipore	...	1-86° 24' 15" ... 86° 19' 49.5" - 0° 4' 25.5"
Soobanreeca	...	1-87° 0' 42.7" ... 87° 05' 55.5" + 0° 5' 12.8"
Calcutta	...	6-88° 18' 45" ... 86° 18' 47.5" + 0° 0' 02.5"

*By an Eclipse of the Moon.*

Ishapore ...	... 1-84° 50' 54" ... 84° 47' 05.5" - 0° 3' 48.5"
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"The latitudes were daily observed, and the result is entered on the tables. From the difference of latitude of the places where the satellites were observed, and the easting and westing of that place with respect to Madras, taken from the tables, I calculated the angular difference of longitude, which, added to the longitude of Madras, gives the longitude of the place by survey."

"The differences are such as must happen, because the satellites, observed with every degree of attention, will give different longitude for the same place; and these differences will sometimes amount to 10 or 12 minutes of a degree, but the differences on this survey are all less."

"From what I have thus shewn, I will venture to say, that this survey excels all I ever heard of in accuracy, if not in extent."

"Should the Board be pleased to order it be published by their printer, it might serve to shew to others how surveys ought to be made and how they actually can be made, with little trouble, by the surveyor of any detachment that may march into remote parts. And I should very willingly see that it was prepared in a scientific manner, and put into a form fit to be laid before the public. The Surveyor's journal is large and that would shew any future detachment every difficulty it would have to encounter, in a march of above 1,124 miles: I might have saved much time and fatigue, if I had had such information when I went towards Madras; what I did get was really very deficient."

"I am, etc.,

(Signed) T. D. PEARSE.

(To be concluded.)












SIR RICHMOND STAKESTEAR.



## Some Letters of Sir Richmond Shakespear.

N our last issue we published an extract from the Diary of Mrs. Emily Shakespear (*née* Thackeray) : we now publish some letters by her son, Sir Richmond Shakespear. Our interest is, of course, in the writer's personality, and these letters are published here in connection with the commemoration of the centenary of the birth of Richmond Shakespear's first cousin—William Makepeace Thackeray, it being a part of the Society's programme for the coming year to collect together and publish the Indian records of the Thackerays and their kinsfolk.

Richmond Shakespear was the little cousin who journeyed home with the future novelist in 1817. A passage from the *Roundabout Papers* was quoted in my introduction to the Diary of Emily Shakespear ; the whole of it so far as it concerns Richmond Shakespear, may now be given :—

"And now, brethren, may I conclude this discourse with an extract out of that great diary, the newspaper ? I read it but yesterday, and it has mingled with all my thoughts since then. Here are the two paragraphs, which appeared following each other :—

" ' Mr. R., the Advocate-General of Calcutta,\* has been appointed to the post of Legislative Member of the Council of the Governor-General.' "

" ' Sir R. S., Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, died on the 29th of October, of bronchitis.' "

" These two men, whose different fates are recorded in two paragraphs and half-a-dozen lines of the same newspaper, were sisters' sons. In one of the stories by the present writer, a man is described tottering "up the steps of the ghaut," having just parted with his child, whom he is despatching to England from India. I wrote this, remembering in long long distant days such a ghaut, or riverstair, at Calcutta ; and a day when, down those steps, to a boat which was in waiting, came two children, whose mothers remained on the shore. One of those ladies was never to see her boy more ; and he too, is just dead in India, 'of bronchitis, on the 29th October.' We were first-cousins ; had been little playmates and friends from the time of our birth and the first house in London to which I was taken, was that of our aunt,

\* William Ritchie, died March 22nd, 1762. The authorship of the inscription on William Ritchie's Monument at St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, is ascribed to Thackeray.



the mother of his Honour the Member of Council. His Honour was even then a gentleman of the long robe, being, in truth, a baby in arms. We Indian children were consigned to a school of which our deluded parents had heard a favourable report, but which was governed by a horrible little tyrant, who made our young lives so miserable that I remember kneeling by my little bed of a night, and saying, 'Pray God, I may dream of my mother!' Thence we went to a public school; and my cousin to Addiscombe and to India.

"For thirty-two years,' the paper says, 'Sir Richmond Shakespear faithfully and devotedly served the Government of India, and during that period but once visited England, for a few months and on public duty. In his military capacity he saw much service, was present in eight general engagements, and was badly wounded in the last. In 1840, when a young lieutenant, he had the rare good fortune to be the means of rescuing from almost hopeless slavery in Khiva 416 subjects of the Emperor of Russia; and, but two years later, greatly contributed to the happy recovery of our own prisoners from a similar fate in Cabul. Throughout his career this officer was ever ready and zealous for the public service, and freely risked life and liberty in the discharge of his duties. Lord Canning to mark his high sense of Sir Richmond Shakespear's public services, had lately offered him the Chief Commissionership of Mysore, which he had accepted, and was about to undertake, when death terminated his career.'

"When he came to London the cousins and playfellows of early Indian days met once again and shook hands. 'Can I do anything for you,' I remember the kind fellow asking. He was always asking that question of all kinsmen; of all widows and orphans; of all the poor; of young men who might need his purse or his service. I saw a young officer yesterday to whom the first words Sir Richmond Shakespear wrote on his arrival in India were, 'Can I do anything for you.' His purse was at the command of all. His kind hand was always open. It was a gracious fate which sent him to rescue widows and captives. Where could they have had a champion more chivalrous, a protector more loving and tender?

"I write down his name in my little book, among those of others dearly loved, who, too, have been summoned hence. And so we meet and part; we struggle and succeed; or we fail and drop unknown on the way. As we leave the fond mother's knee, the rough trials of childhood and boyhood begin; and then manhood is upon us, and the battle of life, with its chances, perils, wounds, defeats, distinctions. And Fort William guns are saluting in one man's honour,\* while the troops are firing the last volleys over the

\* W. R. obit March 22, 1863.



HOLOGRAPH LETTER OF THACKERAY'S GRAND FATHER.

Calcutta the 10.<sup>th</sup> May 1769.--

Sir

I am directed by M<sup>r</sup> Carlier to inform you  
that he has received your favor of the 3.<sup>d</sup> Instant. and  
is extremely sorry to hear of the Death of M<sup>r</sup> Portsmouth  
He requests you will forward to him all such Papers  
and Drafts, as you may find, relative to his Surveys

I am Sir

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup>le Servant  
J<sup>m</sup> Thackeray.

To George VanSart Esq<sup>r</sup>.



other's grave—over the grave of the brave, the gentle, the faithful Christian soldier."

It has often been conjectured that Richmond Shakespear was the original of Thackeray's Colonel Newcome. From Lady Ritchie's biographical introduction to the *Newcomes*, however, we learn that India provided the great novelist with not one but many original models for that beautiful portrait. It cannot be said that this is a disappointment to us, for the character of Richmond Shakespear is too well established in history to need a portrait in fiction to add to its attractive gracefulness.

In the "Extract from the Diary of E. Shakespear" there are some unfortunate misprints, which the reader is asked to correct in his copy :—

P. 133, 5 lines from bottom for "Law" read "Low"

" 134, 22 " " " " Laycork " read " Lacock "

" 137, 13 " " " " Haltred " read " Halhed "

" 138, Last line but one of note 12. after " Burlton " add " Bennett. "

The lady to whom most of these letters were written was Sir Richmond's sister, Emily, wife of William Fleming Dick, who had retired from the Civil Service (appointed 1805) on February 27th, 1838, his last appointment being that of Judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adwalut at Allahabad.

WALTER K. FIRMINER,

*Editor Bengal Past and Present.*

I.

LUCKNOW.

13 Oct. 1838.

MY DEAREST EMILY,

For some months there has been a talk of an army for Cabul and directly there appeared good grounds for the report, I wrote to Genl. Lumbeý begging he would get me appointed to a Company or Troop going. He returned no answer, and, fearing that my being on Staff employ was an impediment, I sent in my resignation of the Survey. A day or two afterwards appeared an order granting *half* the staff allowances to all officers who were ordered to join their Regiments from Staff employ, and soon after my name appeared in orders among others.

Government have taken no notice of my resignation, so that I hope I may be allowed still to draw my half staff allowances, *vid.*, Rs. 125 per mensem.

I am posted to the experimental Camel battery from which great things are expected ! I leave this by Dak for Delhi on the 15th. My marching establishment is *quite* complete as I have a good horse (Coverley), tent, gun, five camels, and as Dogberry says " Everything handsome about me." Add to which I have not one rupee of debt, and shall start to the wars with Rs. 1,000 in hand ; so you will be good enough to express your approbation of my financial arrangements during the last year. The army will assemble at Ferozepoor on the 1st of December, when the junction with Shah Soojahs will take place, and the meeting between Runjeet Singh and Lord Auckland will occur—an account of which I will send



you in my next. After this the Army moves to the South-West to Shikapore and from thence to Candahar and Herat. If the latter fortress has fallen before we get there, we are to retake it from the Persians and Russians. Nepal has been intriguing, but Government are very anxious to avoid a rupture with that State or Burmah just now. However by making over Mhow to Bombay they get troops to strengthen this frontier, and the Madras troops must manage Burmah. Shah Soojah's force has been raised within the last four months and is to consist of two Regiments of Cavalry, two troops of light Artillery and five regiments Infantry. They are to be under Macnaghten, the Private Secretary to Government, who is to go as Envoy on a salary of Rs. 5,000 a month extra. This force is to proceed ahead of the main force, it is difficult to say why, unless it be to give the appearance of Shah Soojah having placed himself on the throne, which is just such a piece of quibbling as delights the Government. Sir H. Fane in person commands our portion of the army, which will be most complete and consists of 3 Regiments of Cavalry, 2 troops, H. Artillery, 3 companies Foot Artillery, 15 Regiments N. Infantry and the Sappers and Miners, and a Brigade of Irregular Horse.

Should the other Commander-in-Chief come out, Sir H. Fane is still to command the army, and to receive his full pay, his successor taking command of the rest of the troops. We are going to a most interesting country, and on a most interesting campaign and truly fortunate do I consider myself in being appointed to one of the company going. I will keep you well informed of all our movements, but you must not expect very long letters, though gratitude for all your kindness and love for your own dear self will make me exert myself.

Low has gained great credit at home for his conduct at the death of the last King of Oude, and for his advice to Government on that occasion. Surely this campaign will affect Russia and England most materially.

2.

CAMP MOOMUD,  
Nov. 16th 1838.

MY DEAREST EMILY,

I write this in the hope that it will be in time for the next mail. You will find the place on all the Maps. It is on the Northern bank of the river Kuggur and about half way to Ferozepoor from Dehli. We are getting on very quietly, have a nice little mess of four who pull well together and all agree in having such appetites. I told you in my last that I was posted to the Camel Battery, from which the Commander-in-Chief expected great things. My opinion is that it will give us 6 instead of 4 camels to each gun that we may act with Cavalry, provided there are no *puddles* on the road! We were detained the other day three hours by a watercourse not four feet in width. You can have no idea of the floundering, splashing, etc., roaring of the poor *coats* (camels). One comes down and the others drag him on and in a moment the poor beast is doubled up into the smallest possible space, head along neck to one side, hind legs to the front and forelegs to the rear. I had no idea a Camel could be rolled up so nicely, and all the time the innocent creature is as silent as a sleeping babe, while the rest roar a requiem in concert over him. But the most surprising thing is that on being unharnessed and extricated, our fallen friend is found to be uninjured, and if anything, rather refreshed by his roll in the sand and water. We yesterday\* (15th November 1838) crossed the Kuggur river without a single slip amongst the whole of the long-legged chieftains, but the soil was particularly sandy, and of course favorable to them. It was truly delightful to see them over safely, for I had been ordered on ahead to



make the Ghaut, and all night long dreamt of quick-sands, floundering camels and guns engulfed, and Artillery Officers much abused.

We are with the 16th Lancers and 2nd Cavalry and the whole together form the Left Column of the Army of the Indus, being under the command of Brigadier Robert Arnold, who makes a most magnificent Brigadier. He was very nearly dying at Meerut a short time ago, that round shot which he got in the Peninsular, must have injured his lungs more than was suspected, for without any apparent cause or previous illness, he suddenly broke a blood-vessel and was for many days in a dangerous state. He looks now very well, and says he never was better in his life. Colonel Perse is also here and I see him often. We have all sorts of reports here, but they are so contradictory that it would be useless to mention them. The only thing that is at all certain is that the Persians have finally retreated from Herat. This very materially affects our hopes of a long campaign.

The whole of the Army of the Indus is to appear at Ferozepoor on the 28th instant, and a splendid sight it will be. It is expected we shall halt there about ten days, and then move down the banks of the Indus to Shikarpore, where we cross. Nothing is known that we can depend on, further than our assembling at Ferozepoor. The meeting of Lord Auckland and Runjeet takes place two days before we assemble at Ferozepoor, and Roopur is again to be honored by the meeting of the great men. Runjeet is to send a Force to act in junction with the one raised by us for Shah Soojah. They talk of the Ameers of Scinde having refused us a passage through their country; but as I said before the reports are contradictory. One day we hear we are to return from Ferozepoor, and the next day nothing but the Caspian is to stop us. If I can manage it I shall be glad to be exchanged to the H. Artry, but I would sooner be a subaltern with my present Company than a surveyor in the Jungles. I hardly think there is anything of importance in this letter 15th November 1838 to repay for the expense, but a letter too much is a fault on the right side, and one which I never commit to anyone but yourself. God bless you my dearest Emily, give my kindest love to Dick, kisses many to Tooney, and believe ever your very affectionate brother.

R. C. SHAKESPEAR.

3.

CAMP NEAR THE INDUS,  
February, 8th 1839.

MY DEAREST EMILY,

At length the communication with Bombay is opened, and I hasten to address a few lines to my old Ladye. My last was from some place *en route* for Ferozepoor, so I must commence as far back on our travels. To Ferozepoor the march was uninteresting. At the latter place we halted 14 days, and here the meeting with Lord Auckland and Runjeet Singh occurred. We were all out in full dress-coats in this fortnight, and were glad to move onward again. Runjeet came to see our troops reviewed, and this was indeed a sight! 10,000 of the finest of our troops marching past the United Sowarries of the two great Potentates, was something to be imagined but not described.

A few days after this we went to see Runjeet review his own troops, and certainly most of us were surprised at their discipline. His Infantry is capital drilled by French Officers, and well equipped, his Artillery is not very bad though far from "the thing," and his Cavalry is miserable.

The force went through some complicated changes of position with great precision and the whole effect was imposing. From Ferozepoor to Bukkur the march was through one



incessant light jungle, with scarcely a single acre of cultivation, and no town of any consequence save Bahwalpore which you will find in most of the maps. Bukkur you will find also.

At this place (Bahwalpore) there is a most beautiful island of white rock, fortified and in parts well wooded.

This view was beautiful and particularly refreshing after our monotonous march down the uninteresting banks of the Indus.

The bridge of boats was not finished at this place or we should have moved across to Shikarpore, and while halting here it appeared that the Khyrpore Ameer had shown symptoms of a disposition to oppose us. The fortified island was his, and it was decided to take this at any rate. The garrison, some 120 knaves, vowed to die at their posts, etc., but as our boats neared to blow open the gate, they slipped into their own boats leaving the gate open and the guns loaded! The night before we had been ordered to be ready for an attack, as it was discovered that a large body of troops was in our neighbourhood. The troops all slept at their arms, the gunners at their guns, and an officer in the Battery all night. My watch was over at half past ten, and I had just begun to dream of Emily and Tooney etc., when "tuwo woohoo" went the alarm and off ran myself to Battery. It proved a false alarm, but for my part the conduct of the troops well repaid me for the night's rest which I lost. By the time I got into my place you might have heard a pain drop, though every man was where he ought to be, who five minutes before had been fast asleep. I had no idea that natives would be so *quiet* on such an occasion. All the next day the Camel Battery was harnessed, expecting to have to go *fer* to blow open the gate, but they thought a bag of powder would do better, and the result I have told you.

All this time Sir John Keene had been detained below Hyderabad, and until we effected a junction with the Bombay troops, we could not move on to Cabool. Every hour brought a new order, and every second order contradicted the first.

At length it was decided that to make a demonstration in favor of Sir J. Keene, the whole of our force excepting the 4th Brigade, the Park and half the Camel Battery should move on Hyderabad.

I was the first for duty, no one would change, and off went my mess-mates with the 1st Brigade. Well two days after when I thought things sufficiently decided to enable me to write to you with some sort of certainty, and when I had gone to bed to think about doing so, at 2 A. M. came an order for me to take on the three guns at 6 A. M. to the 2nd Brigade. I had 3 carts to empty, 2 to load, indents to make out all in four hours, and this in the dark; however that was nothing. Anything better than remaining and being one of the "Bukkur Brigade." But yesterday came an order to halt until further orders as the Ameer of Scinde had agreed to all our demands.

4

CAMP CANDAHAR,  
April 29th, 1839.

MY DEAR DICK,

I trust that my letters to Emily from near Ferozepoor and from near Shikarpoor have reached you safely. Since leaving the latter place the whole of the road has been so infested by plunderers that there was little or no chance of a letter arriving at its destination. It is now intended to open a Dak from this to Mooltan, and so through the Punjab to our Provinces.



I will now proceed to detail our movements up to this date, merely premising that, though the campaign has been interesting at least to a wandering youth like me, it has been altogether unproductive of glory, as I have not seen a single shot fired during the whole 1,250 miles which we have passed over since leaving Delhi. From Shikarpore to Dachee is 140 miles and the whole of this track of ground is almost a desert. We made a march of 26 miles across a part of this desert without seeing a bush, tank, or even a blade of grass. A calm at sea is the only thing in nature which can give you the slightest idea of the desolation of this track. The Deserts of Shikawani and Bikaner are very striking for their dreariness, but there the ground is always broken into sandhills, and the stunted bushes in some measure break the monotony of the scene. But *here* as far as the eye could reach in front, in rear, and on either side all was level, all was still! We started on this march at sunset and reached our tents at sunrise. We had a beautiful moon the whole way, and I enjoyed the scene much. There is only one town, *viz.*, Ishay between Shikarpore and Dadur and there is but very little symptom of agriculture along the whole distance. Indeed the inhabitants of which there are few, seem to be unhappy knaves who live by plunder. It is the direct road of caravans from this place to Scinde, and thence to Bombay, and I fancy the rogues find it easier to make travellers yield their property, than the wretched soil produce its crops. Every man who strayed from camp, or from the line of march was sure to be plundered, and many were murdered. My property had a most narrow escape, being rescued from the hands of the Philistines, just as they had commenced operations on it, by the gallantry of an officer who fortunately came up at the time.

Dadur is a place of some consequence, being surrounded by cultivation, and having an abundant supply of water, notwithstanding which advantages wheat was very scarce, and only to be bought at 4 seers for the Rupee. It is situated at the foot of the Bolan Pass, and our expectations were greatly raised on approaching the latter. About three miles from Dadur you enter the Bholane river and follow its course up to its source, a distance of 53 miles. The dry bed of the river varies from a mile to 50 yards in breadth, and through this channel the beautiful stream twists and turns in a thousand fantastic shapes, these same turnings render it necessary to cross the stream sometimes as often as 17 times in one march, and the ascent being great the gun camels had hard work to drag one 9 pounder through, but right gallantly the old "oonts" did their duty. The 53 miles over you arrive at the fountain head, where the stream gushes out of the rock in one copious flood. It is only from this spot that the rocks on either side are precipitous and the passage narrow. From hence the track which is sometimes not more than 3 feet wide, passes between stupendous rocks, which towering on either hand, appeared prepared to crush our brigade as it wound through the serpentine mazes of the steep defile.

Ha! Seriously some parts of this were really very grand. After leaving the fountain head you have 12 miles of this sort of work, and ending in one hard pull which brings you to the top of all. Up to this our guns had required no assistance from the Infantry, and when the H. Artillery had frequently been obliged to use the drag ropes, we had toiled along untired but very slowly. However the last ascent very nearly at an angle of 35°, it was necessary to put on the drag ropes and pull every carriage over by the hand.

Having now brought you to the top of the Bololand Pass, we will just halt for a few moments, and, while you recover breath, we will reconsider the difficulties surmounted.

To tell the truth these difficulties had been much overrated, for I cannot conceive a pass which crosses so high a range of mountains having fewer natural obstacles. The



ascent is great certainly, but far from insurmountable, and the road was naturally so good that the Sappers had nothing to do but pick out some of the largest stones, and throw them on one side. The rock, I believe, was only blasted in one place, and that at the last ascent, and even this might have been avoided by going a few miles round. Having water so abundant is also a very great advantage. But notwithstanding these advantages our army suffered much in passing through, for from Dadur to the top of the pass (where you are now sitting) is 65 miles, and owing to the steepness of the ascent we could not get through it in less than six marches, during the whole of which time our horses and camels and bullocks, &c., had nothing to feed on but some coarse dry grass which grows now and then on the banks of the stream. Owing to this and some heavy rain, the mortality amongst the baggage camels was dreadful, the road was literally strewn with them; the poor beasts went on to the last moment, then stopped and on a few paces, and at last sat down, and when once down nothing can move them. They make no struggles or noise, but wait patiently till death puts an end to their sufferings. Many a poor fellow after having thrown away everything he could possibly spare, was obliged to burn his only tent for want of carriage. Our friends the thieves were very busy during the whole time, but they are great cowards and wretched shots. To an army invading India it would be but a small obstacle, as they would have the descent with them, and with light loads they might pass through in two, or certainly three days.

From the top of the pass you make a slight descent into a fine plain covered with great bushes and surrounded by mountains, the tops of which were still covered with snow. The top of the pass is 5,100 feet above the level of the sea, and Dadur is only 600! The temperature was most delightful after the heat of the desert. We made three marches from the summit to Quilta and then halted for eleven days, until Sir J. Keane and the Shah arrived. It was at Quilta that our supplies failed; an order was issued placing every fighting man on half a seer, and every camp follower on a quarter seer of Attah. It now became necessary to make the best arrangements we could to prevent our unfortunate servants from starving, and I was fortunate enough to secure 3 maunds of Attah, a bullock to carry the same, and 12 sheep, so that my Tail which has I grieve to say 18 joints, reached this in fine condition. The Dooly Bearers have suffered most, but the country fortunately abounds in sheep, and as the knaves get splendid compensation (money in lieu of grain), they are not so much to be pitied after all.

You will no doubt see in the papers heartrending accounts of all our sufferings, but you must make allowance for poetical imagination. But to return to Quilta. This place is situated in a delightful valley, which is about the same height as Mussooree and well watered, the valley is about 14 miles North and South, by 8 East and West, and all the birds, flowers and plants, are exactly those of England. By the way it is just as well here to point out what all travellers, when praising the valleys of Afghanistan, have failed sufficiently. I mean the absence of trees. It is true that here and there you meet with orchards, but these are few and far between, and with the exception of fruit-trees, I don't think between Dadur and Candahar you will pass more than two really good sized trees. You make several marches successively without seeing anything but small bushes, and though on some of the hills you may find a few stunted bushes, bearing by the way, lovely flowers, yet generally are masses of bare rock or heaps of coarse gravel. This description will hold good for the next seven marches, on the first of which you descend a small ghaut, and passing through the Pishin valley, arrive at the mouth of the Khojak pass. The Pishin valley is in parts well cultivated, but if 10,000 Hindoos were settled there,



it would produce grain enough for all Candahar. The Khojak pass is only 3 miles in length, but the natural obstacles are much greater than in any other part of the Bholand. It took us a whole day to get a battery over, and the drag ropes were obliged to be used the whole time, both in ascending and descending. We were fortunate enough to get over without an accident to the guns, but both the troops of Horse Artillery suffered, one from a wheel smashed, and the other a waggon injured. We were obliged to halt for some days until the Park came up to assist it over, and you may imagine how steep must have been the ascent when 500 Europeans and a double set of bullocks took 4 hours in getting the first 18 pounder up the first ascent. The descents were nearly as troublesome and more dangerous. One or two men had wheels over their legs, but were not seriously injured; by the way I was one among the number, for a waggon breaking loose from the drag ropes, when descending a bank of a nullah, knocked me down and both wheels passed over me very lightly. The ground was soft, and after two or three hours I was able to walk about, and in two or three days as well as ever again. From the foot of the Khojak Pass to Candahar eleven marches, and with the exception of the last 12 miles the whole is almost a desert, water being very scarce and brackish. The Candahar chiefs gave us great annoyance by cutting off the water, and had they managed well, might have made this part of the road almost impossible, but it appears that they are detested for their tyranny, and being poor they were obliged to fly as we advanced. This is a fortified place after the native fashion, having a wall and ditch all round, but it is not a place of any strength. The hazar is a very good one and grain is coming in.

Candahar. May 6th, 1839. I have just heard that there is a good opportunity of sending this off with some chance of its safe arrival, so I must bid you adieu, God bless you, my dear Dick, and yours. Emily shall hear from me at Ghurnee, but we expect a month's halt here.

Believe me ever yours affectionate,  
R. C. SHAKESPEAR.

5-

CANDAHAR,  
18th June 1839.

MY DEAREST EMILY,

I trust that you have received my many letters for if so you will have been kept well informed of all our movements up to this. But the Dak is so very uncertain, that I can hardly hope all my letters have reached you. You will be surprised to hear that there is every probability of my remaining in Afghanistan for some years, having been appointed Artillery officer at Herat. A mission is about to proceed to Herat in a few days, and I accompany it. Our party consists of six, and it is thought by the political folks that our stay there will be a long one. My salary is fixed at 700 rupees a month, and I fondly hope this will prove a good opening. If I can get a Foundry and Powder Manufactory established, I shall certainly pass my time more pleasantly and usefully, than in performing the common routine of duty in one of our stations. The climate is very fine and the country a new one; in short, it is the old story, and I have built many castles on this baseless fabric! What with the Survey Department, this campaign and a few years at Herat I shall almost rival the "wandering Jew"! Of the last 28 months, 20 have been spent under canvas, so you must be prepared to see a very uncouth creature. The Army leaves this for Cabool



In a few days, we have been here two months owing to the want of supplies, and no opposition is anticipated.

The natives of Afghanistan are the worst race of natives we have ever met, they have every vice, and we have not yet discovered one redeeming quality. They come into Camp, laugh and talk with our servants, entice them out under the plea of selling grain, and then murder them much after the fashion of the Thugs. Not only have they never opposed the advances of the army, but whenever half a dozen of our men have been opposed to treble the number of Afghans, the latter have invariably shown great cowardice.

A poor young fellow invariably was thus murdered a few days back, and one of my servants a little before had been enticed out of camp and murdered. The climate is very fine. I am now sitting at 3 p.m. on this fine sunshiny anniversary of Waterloo, in one of the common mud huts of the country, and really it is as cool as I could wish. In tents we are obliged to have rattles in the day, but the nights are always cool, and the mornings delightful. Owing to the want of wood the houses large and small are all made with arched roofs, the whole building being cutcha brick. Such a building would not stand one rainy season in our Provinces, but here they have no periodical rains and even a shower is scarce. You must not believe the reports of our hardships; &c. Our trials have been chiefly of purse and patience, nothing more. I cannot help thinking that it was a mistaken policy which induced our Government to cross the Indus; for, if ever the Russians can overcome the passive resistance offered by the natural obstacles, they will be little deterred by the 5,000 men kept up by Shah Soojah. But I am a poor politician especially with pen and paper. God bless you dearest Emily and give us a happy meeting.

Even your affectionate brother,  
R. C. SHAKESPEAR.

6.

HERAT,  
August 1st 1839.

MY DEAREST EMILY,

I wrote from Candahar telling you of all our movements, and of my having accepted an appointment here as Artillery Officer in this Fort on a salary of 700 Rupees per mensem.

We are building quarters against the cold season, which is said to be very severe here. Our party consists of six, and we pull well together. This climate is splendid, and has done us all much good. There is no chance of the Persians coming against this Fort this year, and by next I trust we shall be able to laugh at both Russians and Persians.

I have just bought a carpet here for 25 rupees, it is 11 feet by 5 feet of very fine texture and good pattern, it was made here. Would you like some similar? I can easily manage to have anything conveyed to Bombay and thence home. I have only just heard that a man starts for Candahar to-day with letters, and I have this & Henrietta's in great haste.

I will write Dick a *Political* letter beforelong. Kiss your children on my account, more particularly Tommy. I am sorry I can't comply with his request as we have no Elephants here, but they make excellent *whiffs* in the City (a fact) and I daresay one will be useful either to or for him! I really must come and see you all next year, for I am getting quite gray.

Believe me your very affectionate brother,

R. C. SHAKESPEAR.



TO W. F. DICK, ESQ., LATE OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

HERAULT,  
September 1859.

MY DEAR DICK,

You will be surprised after the disgust I have shown for surveying in all its branches, to hear that I have undertaken the survey of the valley of Heraut. But the fact that nothing else was left for me and I did not come here to be idle, why I thought I would try once more to overcome my dislike to the work (surveying) and am glad I did so.

The climate here is most delicious and I am entirely my own master. I have got through about 40 square miles and trust to have 100 more done before the winter begins. The cold is said to be intense here in December, and snow lies on the ground for many days. We have made snug quarters, and being a pleasant party I look forward to my stay here with much pleasure.

You have of course heard of the assault of Ghurnee. When we left the Army no such affair was anticipated by any one, and Sir J. Keene himself recommended one of our party not to remain with his corps in the hope of seeing service, so that we cannot blame ourselves for having left, but it is unfortunate that by having done so, we missed the only thing worth seeing in the whole campaign.

Dost Mahomed has fled to Balish and the army has entered Cabul, so everything is settled in the fighting department. At this place we are so to speak omnipotent, and thus the wishes of our Government. They have gained a barrier against the advance of Russia or her slave Persia, but it has been at a tremendous cost. The question is that having made a treaty with Dost Mahomed and the Candahar chiefs many years back, we might now have avoided sending this force across the Indus. Dost Mahomed tried to make a treaty with us, our guaranteeing him against aggressions of Runjeet Singh, but this was refused, and we then applied to Persia, and thus the Russians found an opportunity of opening communication with him and his brothers, the Politicals say that none but a Douranee can govern the Afghans and that therefore Dost Mahomed was not the person to suit our views.

Ghorian is still held by the Persians, and we still occupy Korrack, the former is within 40 miles of this, and the people here are very anxious to attack it, but Major Todd prevents them until he can hear what are the views of the authorities at home. In Persia they are said to be making great military preparations, but it can hardly be with the intention of attacking this Fort. Russia and Persia both eat dirt by the last failure, and they would hardly make another attempt now that our army is at Cabul. We are repairing the fort but in the native fashion. The name of Heraut has always been great, and this last successful resistance has raised the conceit of the Herautes to a great degree. But between ourselves the place ought not to stand against a regular force of 7,000 men and a few heavy guns for more than a week. The Persians ought to be ashamed of themselves. I believe they fought bravely, but their mode of breaching and their failing to enfilade the work, shew a contemptible ignorance of all the fundamental rules of Artillery Practice. What with this siege, the former disturbances, and the oppression of its own Government, the valley of Heraut is at present a melancholy spectacle. You may ride for miles through deserted towns, without seeing a soul, and the town itself does not contain above 5,000 men.



The scenery is most beautiful, and I feel almost inclined to agree with the Herantees, in saying that in climate and soil Hecaut is unequalled. But what are these without the society of the fair sex? Answer me that Mr. Brooke! The women here go about with huge sheets tied all over them having a piece of fine gauze work through which they can see you, but through which you cannot form the most distant idea of the value of the jewel thus hidden. Even their feet are always encased in cloth, and both hands are always used in keeping the sheet tight round them, so that they look like long pillows bewitched more than anything else. You have heard a great deal of the Turcoman horses, and we expected to mount ourselves cheap and well, but I have not yet seen a horse for which I would give Coverley.

By the way I surprised the Natives much by spearing a hog the other day off Mr. Coverley. The hog charged three times in good style, and Coverley behaved very nobly. The Afghans had no idea of the sport, and their horses came up after the death. They make enormous marches on these nags, and they certainly are capital roadsters, but nothing under an acre of ground will suffice for them to turn round in, and if Skinner's Horse ever gets amongst them the Afghans will have the worst of it.

If you love me write frequently a letter is a great treat and one from you or from Emily most valuable.

S.

HERAUT, Sept. 23<sup>d</sup>, 1839.

MY DEAR OLD LADY,

Here I am surveying at a great rate. I have been so kicked about lately, that I hesitate to predict anything as to my future plans or prospects, but at present it appears probable that I shall remain in this part of the world for some years. Major Todd tells me that he has work for me in the spring near Subgaon and Furrak.

The climate here as I have said already is excellent. The allowances I receive at present are handsome, and there is a prospect of their being increased. Such being the case, I ought to remain here as long as they will let me, but I never did a prudent thing in my life, so don't be surprised if I rush home next spring and take my furlough.

We have neither cheroots nor wine, have set up the pipe of the country, and my servant has holsters for it and follows me wherever I go. Through necessity I am a Mussulman regarding wine, and from necessity, I fear, I shall soon be a Mussulman in dress, for my European clothes are fast disappearing and there is no chance of replacing them. I have already grown a respectable beard and am in short a very disreputable looking person. But I trust a good tailor and barber will be able to remove all bad customs acquired by a residence in Afghanistan.

The Afghans are proverbially dirty, and their ideas of Independance and frankness approach very much to what we consider imprudence and rudeness, so that they are not the pleasantest people in the world to live amongst. With all their Independance they submit to greater tyranny than that of Nero, and are altogether a curious compound of courage and cowardice, of candour and deceit. Things are at present in great confusion here, but our agent is gradually restoring order, and it is to be hoped the valley next year will smile with verdant crops, and "nature's fairest form be seen." The valley is about 60 miles by an average of 15, and the river Hurn Rood runs through its whole length. All the irrigation is effected by canals cut from the river and the soil is most productive. If the valley was only wooded



it would be a lovely place, but even now the colouring of the hills is pretty, and the air delicious. I am trying to pick up the language but get on slowly. I have Hadjees and Khans in my service, but they are not to be compared to the servants of India, and expect very high wages.

The people of the valley look upon me as a harmless *maning* who has a curious habit of dragging a chain about the country looking through a "Doochine,"\* as they are pleased to call the theodolite. Write, write, write. God bless you and yours is the constant prayer of your very affl. brother.

R. C. SHAKESPEAR.

9.

HERAUT, Novr. 16th, 1839.

MY DEAREST EMILY,

We have a pleasant party here with comfortable quarters, and plenty of hog-hunting close at hand, the climate is delicious and I have just sufficient employment, so that the exchange from the Revenue Survey of Hindostan is decidedly in my favour. I have commenced saving money, and decidedly think I shall grow avaricious.

There is every probability of our having a contingent here shortly, in this case my friends tell me I am sure of the command of the Artillery. I have told you in some former letters of my employment here in surveying part of the valley. The field operations have closed and I am now settled for the winter. This surveying has made me acquainted with the valley and the natives, and has also enabled me to pick up the language without much trouble, but I am very slow in learning languages.

The affairs of Persia are in sad confusion, and the Shah anxious to make peace with us on any terms.

Colonel Stoddart has been released from confinement and appointed Comdt. of Artillery; they gave him the option of this appointment or death. It is difficult to say what our Govnt. will do in this affair, they can hardly pass over the insult. Dost Mahomed is near Balkh and trying to get up a party against us, but our Force in Afghanistan is far too strong for him. At this place we are supreme, but between ourselves, this Govnt. is an absurd caricature on Royalty. Why the King, the Ministers, the Moollahs, the shopkeepers, farmers and even the beggars are all in our pay, and as the Revenue of the whole country is only about 5 Lakhs you may imagine that we are sad losers. This country is in the last stage of degradation: for thirty years it has been the scene of war or misrule, and the late siege was the crowning blow. In former years they say the population of the valley amounted to 200,000, and from the great size of many of the villages I can quite believe it, but at present I should say 30,000 was a fair estimate. Let us hope our presence here will restore order and confidence. It is a fearfully long step we have made to this! And the worst of it is that we are as much involved with the States bordering this as we were last year with Scindia, Holkar, Jyepore and other neighbours.

I long to hear from you, why I have not yet heard how you pass your time whether you walk, ride, paint, or what you do.

Believe me dearest Emily,

Yours very affect. brother,

R. C. SHAKESPEAR.

\* Telescope.



HERAUT, Dec. 31<sup>st</sup>, 1830.

MY DEAR DICK,

We have just heard of the loss of the *Cossida*, and I fear I must have suffered amongst the rest. Not a line have I had for an age either from England or the Cape. I trust my letters to you and Emily have reached you. I have made an arrangement with Messrs. Ritchie, Stewart and Co. at Bombay to receive and forward all letters for me, so pray direct in future to their care.

We are all well at this place and very busy, and the climate is delicious and I fear I fatten. If the daks were only regular I should like the idea of remaining here for some years well enough. I wrote a short time back to Emily and mentioned that there was a chance of a contingent being formed. I daresay this will be carried into effect next spring. In fact until a force is established here totally dependant upon us, the whole of the money which has been laid out of late, may be considered as squandered, for we may be turned out of the place by the Minister any day, and also these Afghans have received more money from us than their whole country is worth. I fear their faith and attachment to us cannot be relied on. They are a nation of beggars literally, and as a facetious friend observes the national waiety is "*Ai Sahab az bural kuda*." Young and old, rich and poor say the same. Their independance is very closely allied to insolence, and they are very dirty: of honesty they appear to be entirely ignorant, so that as far as the people go I would give the preference to Hindustans. But in climate this is indeed superior. It never rains; but snow sometimes lies on the ground for three or four days. We had the thermometer at 24 the other morning after sunrise. Our quarters are very snug and I like the party well. We have lately had reports of a very large force of Russians moving towards Khiva, but I should doubt it, at any rate the number which is said to be 300,000 must be exaggerated.

Our latest news from Calcutta is the 7th of September, and war with Burmah seems inevitable. We have just heard that the Bombay portion of the Army of the Indus have on their return taken by assault the fort of Killit Ghilzee, and that the owner of the same Morad Khan was killed in the assault.

This man richly deserved his fate. Several detachments have been sent from Candahar and Cabool, and some plunderers have been seized, but many years must pass before the country can be got into order.

Yours very affectly,  
R. C. SHAKESPEAR.

HERAUT, Dec. 20<sup>th</sup>, 1830.

I am at present acting as political assistant here, this may ultimately turn out to my advantage, but do not let your little head imagine strange things but this appointment gives me incessant employment. I do not know whether you have discovered it but I do like employment, and work away with a right good will. We have fine clear freezing days now, and have not had a shower of rain since our arrival. We have ordered skates and intend to astonish the natives, if the ice is only strong enough to bear such stout gentlemen. My quarters are most comfortable not to say superb.



12

HERAUT, *April 26th, 1840.*

We are having a very pleasant life here, plenty of office work, and we find innocent private amusement in laying out a new garden, and farming an estate. You will do me a great favour if you will send me out all kinds of flower seeds, with all particulars as to soil and season for sowing. If the seeds are sent to Messrs. Ritchie, Stewart and Co. they will reach me in a shorter time than by any other route.

I should have liked to have seen the affair at Ghuznee, but the Battery to which I was attached had not much to do. I would rather remain in my present situation here than take any other appointment.

13.

HERAUT, *May 10th, 1840.*

MY DEAREST EMILY,

I have now to inform you of a most important change in my prospects. We received dispatches yesterday evening, and this morning Major Todd informed me that he desired me to start for Khyva the day after to-morrow!

Captain Abbott, who was sent to Khyva, has left that court for St. Petersburg, and last evening's patches brought documents, authorizing him to act on the part of the Supreme Government of India. He having left, Major Todd thinks it of great importance, that I should reach Khyber as soon as possible and during the absence of Captain Abbott, that I should carry out the views of Government. Never man yet had a fairer chance of an opening. Let me have your prayers dearest Emily, and may God preserve and protect you, dear Charlotte and Dick, and may every blessing attend you and your children, has and ever will be the constant prayer of your truly affectionate brother.

R. C. SHAKESPEAR.

*P.S.*—You will I am sure see the necessity of a short communication this time. Do not run away with the idea that I am going to be sold into slavery. Affairs have greatly changed since Conolly published his work. Captain Abbott has already been at the court of Khyva and an ambassador from that Court has gone to Cabool and I go to Khan Hazrat of Khyva, at a time that he is in dread of imminent destruction from Russia.

There is of course some danger, but not so much as if I was going on a campaign, where service was to be seen, and infinitely more hope of distinction. Once more Adieu. God bless you.

14.

TO LIEUT. R. C. SHAKESPEAR,

POLITICAL ASSISTANT ENVOY AT HERAT.

CABOOL, *10th November 1841.*

SIR,

I am commanded by His Majesty Shah Shooja Oul Moolk to acquaint you that he has been pleased as a mark of approbation of your services in Afghanistan, to confer upon you the third class of the Order of the Dooranee Empire.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. H. McNAUGHTEN,

*Envoy and Minister.*



15.

KHIVA, *June 14th, 1840.*

MY DEAREST EMILY,

I arrived here on the 12th well and hearty and have been very favorably received by the Khan Huzut.

My journal has been regularly kept and shall be transcribed for my dear sister's perusal, but at present I am engaged heart and soul in negotiations which occupy every thought and entail much responsibility. The explanation to Government of my views and proceedings require much labour, and writing despatches takes up all my time. Let me have your good wishes. Never had Lieutenant of Artillery such an opportunity of castle-building, but how it will all end Heaven only knows. My castles are political, I have not had time to think of Mary Fair looking out of the casement high!

The Russian Force has been driven back by sickness. It is impossible to say how long I shall remain, but this is a most delicious climate. I have capital quarters in a good garden, and the Khan Huzut finds me everything I can possibly wish for.

Ever my dearest Emily your very affectionate brother.

R. C. SHAKESPEAR.

20.

OLD OORGUNG, TURKESTAN,  
*August 21st, 1840.*

MY DEAREST EMILY,

This place is 100 miles on the road to Dasht Kulla, and as I shall not have another opportunity of sending a letter until my arrival at the Caspian, I will not allow this courier to depart without writing you a line. I have been sadly plagued and bothered collecting these Russian prisoners, but I trust the chief difficulties are now vanquished, and certainly it falls to the lot of few men, to have the releasing of above 400 people from slavery, and willingly would I undergo a thousand times the annoyances I have suffered, to have the satisfaction of seeing these poor wretches on the line of march. Every two men have a camel, and my own tail being considerable we form rather a large "Kafilah."

In addition to the pleasure of releasing these poor wretches, I have been able to secure orders which will prevent thousands of unfortunate wretches being seized and sold by Turcomans. I humbly hope that this is the dawn of a new era in the history of Turkestan, and that the English name will be blest with the proud distinction of having put an end to this inhuman traffic through the whole of Tookomania, and of having civilized this race, so long the curse and dread of Central Asia! This is all very fine and grand, but perhaps the poor politico will be well wiggled for his officiousness, instead of receiving thanks, and be hooted by every Jack-in-Office. I would give all I possess to know what is the opinion of the Power, that be on a letter I wrote just a month ago. It is very painful waiting two or three months for a letter by which you must either live or die, particularly when you have not a soul to consult with or console you.

But whether noticed or unnoticed by the great ones, the prayers of these poor creatures are surely of value.

I shall have to return to Turkestan whatever be the result of all these strange events, and I fear I shall have to remain there some years. I should infinitely prefer returning to Herat, as the natives there are not quite savages.



If I come home this trip and get a peep at my oldest and dearest of old Ladyes this winter, I shall be truly a happy man, but I fear there is no chance of it.

In two days I leave this to march steadily accross the Desert to the Caspian. This place is down in Burns' map, it is the site of a very ancient city in the time of the Fire-Worshippers. For many years it has been altogether deserted, the river having changed its course.

A prophecy has descended from generation to generation that in the latter days Oorgung shall be inhabited again, and within the last five years the river has returned to this side, and filled the bed of a considerable atream; from this canals have been cut for irrigation, and people are fast collecting here. There are now about 1,000 families, and a considerable bazaar twice a month. I tell the Turcomans that the sooner they repent of their slave-dealing, and other sins the better, for that the fulfilment of the Prophecy evidently approaches.

There is a very high tower here and the ruins of four or five tombs. Treasure has been found here, and four mummies. Altogether it is a fine field for the Antiquary. Ah! Emily I shall have much to tell you of when we meet, in the interim if you love me write, direct to Messrs. Stewart & Co., Bombay, who will forward the letter to Herat.

Love to Thackerays, Ritchies, and to Dick. Kisses to the dear children.

Ever my dearest Emily, your very affect. brother.

R. C. SHAKESPEAR.

21.

DASHT KULLA ON THE CASPIAN SEA,  
*September 13th, 1840*

DEAREST EMILY,

How shall I express my joy and gratitude at having been enabled to bring all the Russian prisoners here in safety. You will see old Oorgunj on Burn's Map, and from a little North of this (Oudagur) the road leaves the Oxus, and crosses a smooth hard plain to the Caspian. The only places where water can be found on the last part of the road, are at wells which are 30, 40, 60 and 70 miles apart. But Heaven had mercy on the unfortunate wretches under my care, and granted us most delightful weather, neither cold or hot, and I thank God, neither man, woman, or child suffered from this most difficult march, and I was enabled to make them over to the Russian Officers in health, and with all their little property. I have been most truly fortunate, not a horse or camel even has been lost! The Russians seem at a loss to express their gratitude, and have hardly yet recovered from their astonishment. Not Napoleon crossing the Alps, was half so happy a fellow as I at the head of my 416 prisoners approaching Dasht Kulla. I sent one of them with a Cornack on ahead, to give information of my approach; the people here would not credit their report, they could not read my letter, and it was very long before the man I sent could induce the Governor of the Fort to credit him, and send people to meet me. Such a shaking of hands and raising of hats! Let me die when I may. I am now contented, and have not lived in vain.

The rest of the journey will be a party of pleasure, and I almost begin to hope I may visit Old England, and see my dearest of old women. Khoda Wordce and Fazil Khan are the only men I shall take from this. Khoda Wordce begged me with tears in his eyes to take him, and Fazil laughed, and began a long and incomprehensible story about his *Bax*. The rest of the tail have behaved admirably, and I shall send them all back to Khvoa to











wait orders from Orenburg. From Orenburg I will write again to you ; at present I am in the greatest confusion, the courier just starting. I hope to leave this in 5 days at the latest.

Even Emily thy own affect brother.

R. C. SHAKESPEAR.

22.

RUSSIAN CAPITAL.

October 31st 1840.

DEAREST EMILY,

HURRA, HURRA ! Look at the date of that Old Lady ! And some hope of coming nearer home as well, if I do come look out if I do not turn your house topsy-turvy ! Well, Emily, my trip from Khiva to the Caspian with the Russian prisoners has been accomplished without loss of man, woman, or child. The Russians are much annoyed, but have formed friendly relations with Khyva, at least have commenced doing so, and no Army advances this year on Khyva. *This* was all that was wanted. And who did it ! Eh ! Not a Lieutenant of Artillery surely ? Excuse this boasting but my head reels with delight to think that I have been successful. Ah old woman, I have plenty, plenty, to tell you, but at present I am too confused. I arrived here only this morning, and they are sending off a courier. Write to me by all manner of means. Love to Dick and a merry meeting to us. I must remain here much to my joy.

Ever dearest Emily thine own affectionate brother,

R. C. SHAKESPEAR.

23.

PETERSBURG,

10th December 1840.

MY DEAREST EMILY,

I have waited in the hope of hearing something decisive regarding my destination, but they seem to have forgotten me altogether. The only thing approaching to *instructions* which I have yet received, leads me to think I shall be detained here a month longer, and after all very possibly not be allowed to return to your roof. This will be a great trial and I shall feel it most deeply. I am a very lucky fellow to have been employed in matters of such importance, and in having had even the holiday of a month's stay in this city. I have been fêted by all or nearly all the English families here, and have roared "like any sucking dove," but I confess I begin to tire sadly of the place. "Oh but I'm weary to get home." I would make almost any sacrifice to visit England, but the matter does not rest with me, and must be decided by people who can little understand the pain it will cause me to retrace my steps. There are some very pleasant families here, and I have received much kind hospitality from many of them. This trip to the Russian Capital has made rather a large hole in my purse, although Government do pay all my current expenses. I am living very comfortably in Mr. Wilton's Pension Galernin Street, where direct to me. It is a very good house and the people very attentive. I don't think I have mentioned that Fasil Khan whom you will find mentioned in my journal has accompanied me and he is a most faithful honest fellow, and gives no trouble, but is not very useful, but I could not send him back to Khyva.



The thermometer stands at 22° below freezing (Reaumur), but the houses are admirably warmed, and in fact there is no difficulty in warming oneself out of doors. I have not had one shiver since I came here, and the cold does me much good, bracing my nerves, and causing such an appetite.

Your very affect. brother,  
R. C. SHAKESPEAR.

24.

ST. PETERSBURG.

3rd January 1841.

MY DEAREST EMILY,

Many, many happy returns of the season to you, and all our kith and kin. Lord Clanricarde assures me that I shall be allowed to visit England before returning to Asia, but requests me to remain here some time longer. The cold is excessive averaging about 12° below freezing (Reaumur). The Neva has been crossed by the heaviest cars for a long time and all conveyances are sledges, seated in which one glides along over the snows, with ease to one's horse as well as to oneself.

I have been since my last to a very magnificent Ball at the Palace, this was a most splendid sight, indeed I believe few Courts are so gorgeously grand as the Russian. The room was of Broddignag proportions, and was beautifully lighted. I have had the honor to be introduced to the Emperor, Empress, and Grand Duke, and to-day went through the ceremony of kissing the hand of the Grand Duchess Helen, wife of the Emperor's brother, at least I ought to have kissed her hand, but I only managed to rub my nose against Her Highness' knuckles! She is a very intelligent looking person, of very pleasing manners; indeed all the Royal Family are remarkably handsome and affable. Lord Clanricarde has been very kind, offering me a seat at his table, and has spoken very flatteringly about what he is pleased to call my services.

I have kept this open in the hope of hearing something certain on the arrival of the courier, he came last night but only brings me a letter from Captain Abbott, who says that I am sure to be ordered home, but that no precise time is fixed. Let me hear from you and believe me,

Your very affect. brother,  
R. C. SHAKESPEAR.

25.

Commandant at Novo Alexandroffsk fortress, 5th September 1840, No. 4997.

TO THE ENVOY TO THE KHAN AKHUN AND OF THE ENGLISHMAN SHAKESPEAR.

On the 30th August last you delivered here from Khiva, Russian prisoners in number according to a detailed list, males, females, and children under age, four hundred and sixteen. When you collected them from amongst the Khivans, Turkomans and others you gave to each one ducat and fifty pounds weight of flour.

On their arrival at this fortress, in answer to my enquiry, they expressed themselves unanimously grateful to you, as Fathers and Benefactors, from the time of their being taken out of bondage, during the journey from Khiva to this fortress, of which I shall make a report to the Governor-General of Orenbourg, Adjutant General Peroffsky.

Signed Commandant of Nova Alexandroffsk fortress, Colonel of Artillery Sikhoshtostoff,

*Separate*



25

The Viscount Palmerston, }  
G. C. B. }

ST. PETERSBURGH,  
3rd February 1841

MY LORD,

As the Khivan Envoy has left St. Petersburg and Captain Shakespear's services will be no longer required here, I have directed him to proceed to England with my despatches of this date; and I have to request that your Lordship will be pleased to give the necessary directions for the repayment of the expenses of Captain Shakespear's journey.

This gentleman appears to me to have executed the duties that were entrusted to him with remarkable zeal, steadiness and judgment.

During his stay here he had maintained a vigilant although discreet watch over the Khivan Envoy and kept me constantly informed of all that related to that person.

I have, etc.,  
(Signed) CLANRICARDE.

True copy. *Andrew Buchanan.*

Attached to H. M's Embassy at St. Petersburg.

TO CAPTAIN SHAKESPEAR.

FOREIGN OFFICE.  
July 9th 1841.

SIR,

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that the Queen has been graciously pleased to signify Her intention of conferring upon you the honour of Knighthood, as a mark of Her Majesty's approbation of the manner in which you performed the service on which you were employed last year at Khyva.

You will have to attend at the Palace for this purpose when next Her Majesty holds a Court there, and you shall have due notice thereof.

I am, Sir,  
Your most humble obedient Servant,  
PALMERSTON.





# Capt. John MacLary's Privateering Career.

## PART II —(Conclusion.)

1782: O. C. 9th July No. 23

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL, FORT WILLIAM.

HONORABLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

Two Portuguese ships belonging to Macao, one the *S. Antonio Novo*, the other *S. Maria Mayor and Almas* have we find been stoped on their Voyages and brought into this Port by the Privateers *Doddaley* Capn. McLary and the *Death and Glory* Capt. Bracy, and as we understand that neither of their Capts. are brought here or come of themselves to claim their Vessels and Cargoes, or give any account of the cause of their seizure, We humbly request that your Hon'ble Government, would order enquiry to be made concerning it, that such measures may be taken as well most effectually prevent any interruption of that free trade and harmony which subsists, between the English and Portuguese. The circumstance of no proper person having come in either of these ships to claim them is so uncommon that we are confident it will apologise for our craving the interposition of your Hon'ble Government. We wished to have informed ourselves better of this matter before we took the liberty of addressing your Honours, but we cannot find even an officer of any kind in either of the ships to give us the necessary information or assistance, and we could not defer this address longer, as the ships are nearly unladen, and their Mariners will soon disperse.

We are with the most profound Respect,  
Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen,  
Your very obedient, and  
most humble servants,  
JOHN COTTSMANN,

Supra-Cargoes of the Ships <i>Princess of Brazil</i> and the <i>Monte de Carmo</i> .	...	...	DOMINGO ZOAQM DANTOS.
Supra-Cargoes of the <i>Maria Princesa</i> .	...	...	PHILIPPE ROUSSAC, ROUSSAC L. CALVA.
Capt. of the <i>Mon de Carmo</i> .	...	...	VITORIO TALEAO.
Capt. of the <i>Princess Brazil</i> .	...	...	JOZE ROZE PINTO

1783. O. C. 10th March No. 9.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN.

Be it known that Captain John McLary has applied to me in public form, on the 13th September, in the year, of Our Lord one thousand, seven hundred and eighty two in this Town of Macao in China, for a copy of the Petition filed against him by



Messrs. Anthony Botelho Homem and Bernardes Possano, Agostinho Antonio Spada, merchants of this town, in consequence of this application, I, Jose Maria Pereira de Castro, Judge Ordinary and empowered by his most Faithful Majesty, whom God preserve have agreeable to his request taken a fine copy of the same to enable him to answer the charge laid against him in the said petition, which is as follows, *viz* :—

#### PETITION.

The humble Petition of Anthony Botelho and Agostinho Antonio Spada, inhabitants of this town, owners of the Ship *Santa Maria Mayor*, humbly sheweth that, it being of the utmost consequence to us, we request that the accompanying declaration of Captain John McClary given to the Commander of the said ship, after he captured her, we humbly request that the Judge Ordinary be pleased to direct the Secretary Jose Maria to apply to Francis Anthony Mourie, requesting him to take his oath that he will make a true translation of the declaration written by the said McClary in English.

And your humble Petitioners will ever pray.

#### RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED that the above request be complied with, as applied for.

(Sd.) ROZA.

MACAO

13th August 1788.

#### FORM OF THE APPLICATION.

READ the above Resolution of the Judge Ordinary Simao de Ananjo Roza; and it was RESOLVED, in consequence of an application made by the Petitioners Messrs. Possano and Spada, to get translated by Francis Antonio Mourie (*sic*) a written declaration in English given by Captain John McClary, which is annexed to the Petition. The said Mourie (*sic*) having AGREED to the request, I, Jose Maria Pereira de Castro, have written this and registered it on the 31st of August, 1702.

(Sd.) JOSE MARIA PEREIRA DE CASTRO,  
*Judge Ordinary.*

#### FORM OF THE OATH.

On the 31st of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two, in this Town of Macao in China, I, Judge Ordinary, went to Mr. Mourie, and requested he would take his oath of making a true translation of a written declaration in English signed by Captain John McClary, which he did, making a true translation. I, Jose Maria Pereira de Castro, have written this and registered it.

(Sd.) JOSE MARIA PEREIRA DE CASTRO  
(Sd.) MOURIE.

#### DECLARATION.

Ship *Santa Maria Mayor*,  
27th February, 1782.

The following declaration is delivered to Mr. Agostinho Antonio Spada, Commander of the above-named ship, *viz* :—

That having, in gross violation of all the rules of justice by which the actions of civilized nations should be governed, been, in an unheard of manner confined in the prison



of Macao, and deprived of property to a ruinous amount, by the arbitrary and illegal decisions of the Governor and Senate of that place, and the channel for legal redress being barred up by the principal actors holding the supreme power there; I have determined to procure a personal indemnification by seizing whenever I have the opportunity the property of the persons by whom I have suffered, until I shall be wholly reimbursed, to which end I have detained the ship *Santa Maria Mayor* and such cargo as has been put on board by the declared owners of the said ship, Mr. Francis De Castro, Governor of Macao, and Messrs. Botelho and Agostinho Antonio Spada, members of the Senate of Macao, from the fullest conviction that by their means, I am put to the present mode of obtaining satisfaction.

(Sd.) JOHN MACKLARY.

MACAO,

*The 31st August, 1782.*

(Sd.) MOURIE.

#### PETITION.

The humble PETITION of Spada and Botelho, humbly sheweth that they are in want of three copies of the translated declaration. We humbly request that the Judge Ordinary will be pleased to direct and the Secretary to comply with our humble request.

And your humble Petitioners will ever pray.

#### RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED that the above request be granted—as applied for.

(Sd.) ROZÁ.

MACAO,

*The 9th September, 1782.*

*Attestations follow.*

1782. O.C. 5th August No. 22.

TO MESSRS. JOHN COTTSMANN, D. J. DANTAS, PHILLIPE ROUSSAC, ROUSSAC, L. CALVA  
VICTORIO FALAO AND JOZE ROIZ PINTO.

GENTLEMEN,

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council to acknowledge the receipt of your address to them of the 7th ultimo which would not have remained so long unanswered had not the Governor-General waited the result of the information which he gave you that, however well disposed this Government might be to enquire into the complaint and redress the parties aggrieved, it would be impossible for them to pursue any legal measures for that purpose unless the information were given upon oath before a proper magistrate, which mode of proceeding he accordingly recommended.

I have now to request you, in the name of the Board, that if any witnesses can be produced to swear to the facts contained in your representation so that the cause may be put into a regular course of trial by the only jurisdiction which can take legal cognizance of matters of this nature and a person left to prosecute this claim, the Board will readily forward the business so that a proper investigation may be made, but they are sorry to inform you that it is not in their power to proceed upon any legal inquiry into your complaint.



on a representation of the facts unsupported by any positive evidence upon oath or other proof which might be admitted in a Court of justice.

I am, &c.

J. P. AURIOL.

Secy.

1782. O. C. September 12th No. 6.

[TO HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS ]

Nil.

Tuesday.

SIR,

I have the honor to acquaint you that Mr. Green the Pilot left the *Dudley* on Thursday last in seventy fathoms of water, after having conducted her with great care and perfect safety through the new channell.

I have, &c.

JOHN MACLARY.

1783 O. C. 10th March. No. 8.

Protest made by Anthony Botelho, Homem Bernardes Pesson, and Agostino Anthony Spada against the Hon'ble East India Company's Super-Cargoes, in the year 1782.

(Signed) JOAQUIM PEREIRA,

Secretary.

The PROTEST of Anthony Botelho and Homem Bernardes Pesson, and Agostino Anthony Spada, against the Hon'ble East India Company's Super-Cargoes, contained twenty-four lines, and the petition twenty lines, and one third, all without being amended or interlined, the RESOLUTION three lines, with the signature of the Judge and Ordinary. The said Protest was put under cover by me the Secretary and delivered to the Petitioners to intitle them to their claim; in faith whereof I, Joaquim Pereira, this, have written and hereto put my signature.

(Signed) JOAQUIM PEREIRA.

Secretary.

The humble Petition of Anthony Botelho, Homem Bernardo Pesson, and Agostinho Anthony Spada, inhabitants of the Town of Macao, owners of the Ship *Sa Maria Mayer* humbly Sheweth that Captain John McClary, Commander of the Ship *Dudley*, subject of the King of Great Britain, Captured the Ship of the Petitioners, whose Cargo was entirely Portuguese property, as clearly appears by Bonds passed on the same ship, the money being borrowed as Respondentia from the Treasury and Merchants of this Town.

The said McClary, some time before this, had Agreed, Settled and Ballanced an account in this Town with the owners of the Sloop *Sa Rita de Castia*, which the aforementioned McClary had directed to be captured, and in his possession was lost. This Affair had a regular Course in the Court of this Town, and both parties were attentively heard, as appears by Extracts of the Proceedings hereto annexed.



For all this, Captain McClary has availed himself of a pretext of being used with violence in this Town, and to pay himself has captured the Petitioner's ship. As the said McClary, was set at liberty in this Town in consideration of the Letter of Marque that he presented, granted by the Hon'ble the Governor General and Supreme Council of Bengal, sealed with the Seal of the Hon'ble the united Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies, subjects of the King of Great Britain, of course the Hon'ble Company should be PROTECTED against for all damages and disappointments that the owners are experiencing by the abuse that the said McClary has made of the Letter of Marque before mentioned, and also Captain Bracey, Commander of the *Death or Glory* Privateer, who had likewise a Letter of Marque granted him by the Hon'ble Governor and Supreme Council of Bengal. Those proceedings must be represented to the Court of Judicature at Bengal, or wherever else they can be proved. It is requested of the Judge that he will be pleased to order the Secretary to forward to the Hon'ble Company's Super-Cargoes this protest together with the accompanying restrictions that are annexed to the Extracts of the proceedings of the Composition, as also the different Depositions that were taken after Capturing the Vessel of the Petitioner's with the Accounts belonging to her Cargo and disbursements. Let them all be provided, with the extracts taken from the proceedings, in the presence of the Hon'ble Company's Super-Cargoes, that they may witness the signature of the said John McClary and of his Attorneys, Messrs. David Lance and William Fisher, returning only this Protest to the Petitioners signed by them and all other Deeds to be forwarded to the Supreme Council of Bengal.

(Signed) FONCECAL.

MACAO:

The 14th of August 1782.

On the sixteenth of the month of August in the year, one thousand and seven hundred and Eighty-two, in this Town of the name of God of Macao in China, the Secretary before mentioned went to Dinamarca Muschi, the House of Residence of the Hon'ble Company's Super-Cargoes of the English Nation. There were the following Gentlemen:—James Bradshaw, Henry Browne, and David Lance, Esqrs. I read and explained to the said Gentlemen the contents of this protest in compliance with the order I had received from the Ordinary Judge, Manuel Pereira Fonseca. These said Gentlemen acknowledged that the signatures of Captain John McClary were three, of Fisher five, and of David Lances, Esq., four, which they witness'd as being the true signatures. They received a copy of the receipt that was given at the time when the *São Maria Mayor* was taken, as also a copy of her Manifest of her Cargo, and the whole of the Proceedings relative to the loss of the sloop *São Rita de Casta*, and as the said Gentlemen received the aforementioned Papers, and being sensible of the contents of the said Protest, I made this note registered in their presence, and the said Gentlemen, jointly with me, have put their respective signatures.

(Signed) JOAQUIM PEREIRA.  
F. MAURIER.  
JAMES BRADSHAW.  
HENRY BROWNE.  
DAVID LANCE.

The above is a true copy and the whole can be believed with a great Faith in Court or out, as if the Original had been presented: and this was copied by a Faithful writer, and



signed in the Office by me Joaquim Pereira, Secretary to the Judge Ordinary, who directed it to be copied.

(Signed) JOAQUIM PEREIRA *in Court*  
JOSE MARIA PA DE CASTRO  
JOAQUIM PEREIRA *in Court*.

Simao Arango Royo, Citizen and Ordinary Judge, empowered by his Most Faithful Majesty, whom may God preserve for many years, I do hereby certify that the Signature of the Composition is of the Secretary Joaquim Pereira, for Faith whereof I have herewith signed my name. Given in the town of Macao in the Tenth day of September, in the year one thousand, seven hundred and eighty-two.

(Signed) JOSE MARIA PEREIRA DE CASTRO.  
SIMAO DE ARANJO ROYA.

A true translation.  
STEPHEN SHEA.

To  
J. P. AURIOL, ESQR.,  
*Secretary.*

1782. P. P. 3383-3386. O. C. 24 Oct. No. 10.

10th October 1782.

SIR,

Absence from town prevented a timely acknowledgement of the honor of your letter.

I beg you will be pleased humbly to submit to the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council that altho' I cannot but greatly condemn myself for the impudence of an act which has caused much trouble to them, and might possibly have embarrassed the concerns of the Factory at Canton, yet I must at the same time contend that the capture of the ship *Good Hope* under the commission granted to me was justifiable on the ground of national hostilities.

The paper No. 1 preserved for the purpose of ascertaining the property, and No. 2 I hope will be equally satisfactory in proving the charges of Mr. Sluyskin to be ill founded and libelous (*sic*).

From first to last of the business in question I never had a word of communication with the Dutch. The offence was to the Chinese Government and to them I was to make reparation for violating the neutrality of their port. The ship and cargo were given up to Mandareens who were appointed for that purpose, and that I gave them every kind of satisfaction, the translated paper will, I think, clearly evince, but in further proof I beg leave to acquaint you that the first members of Government were so well pleased with my peaceable and ready compliance in making restitution, that they remitted a customary charge of near Ten Thousand Rupees measurement duty on my ship.

I am, Sir,  
Your most obedient  
humble servant,  
JOHN MACLARY,



To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL & C. SUPREME COUNCIL

GENTLEMEN,

By the *Nonsuch*, which arrived in the Roads of Macao, the 21st July last, we had the honor to receive your several Letters dated the 2nd January and 5th February 1782 and 29th October 1781 addressed to the Council of 1780 wherein you mention that you had shipped on her 1,601 Chests of Opium for this place from the impracticability of disposing of it in the usual manner at a reasonable rate, and that its produce might supply us with funds for purchasing our Investment, that you had entered into engagements with Mr. Cudbert Thornhill for paying into our Treasury the produce of 1,466 Chests of Opium laden on the *Betsy* to be disposed of by him at the Malay Ports for the same purpose, and that Certificates had been granted to the amount of ten Lacks of Rupees on each concern for for which Bills were to be drawn by us at the Terms of the Session.

We are now to inform you, that the Opium by the *Nonsuch* has been disposed of after numerous difficulties at the rate of 210 Head Dollars P. Chests. 100,000 Dollars to be paid on or before the 2nd February 1783, the remainder in the course of 12 Months. These were the best and only terms we were able to procure on account of the great quantity brought to Macao in the Ships belonging to that City. We lament that when your Board determined to send this Article here on the Company's Account, so much was permitted to be brought by individuals, as that circumstance may be said with to have ruined the sale of the *Nonsuch's* Cargo, and defeated in a great measure the intent of a supply for the present year, by laying us under the necessity of allowing such a long Credit to the purchaser, who can have no prospect of selling any considerable part of it here.

The benefit resulting to the Hon'ble Company and the relief which we are sensible it must afford you, have induced us to use every possible means to dispose of this Cargo to the best advantage, we must nevertheless beg leave to represent to you, that the difficulties and inconveniences attending it are so great, that we could wish you would not in future pursue the same method of supplying us with Funds, except in the last necessity, in which case, no diligence and care shall be wanting on our part to insure success. If the urgency of affairs should compell you to such a step, we request you will effectually prevent individuals, either Foreigners or English, from exporting any Opium for this market, as the only ground on which we can flatter ourselves with any hopes of relieving you, in the disposal of this Article.

You mention that it is your intention to send us Lists of the Certificates, distinguishing such as are granted on the *Nonsuch* from those granted on the *Betsy*. One List only has been received by us and in that no such distinction is to be found. We have therefore been under some difficulties how to determine, and are yet far from being certain there may not be some mistakes, as the subscription for the *Nonsuch* was opened sometime after that for the *Betsy*, we thought the most advisable mode of distinguishing would be, to adjudge those of a late date to the *Nonsuch*—for these amounting to Rs. 553,488—Dollars 222,943—177 Dces—We shall grant Bills, the remainder have not been presented, therefore as we are ignorant of the amount of the subscription, we have not been able to make a proportionate deduction if it should exceed the produce of the Cargo an inconvenience you must be convinced that could not be avoided unless we had deferred granting any bills till next Season which would have been a great hardship on those whose Certificates are already come to hand as well as loss to the Company. We enclose a list of Certificates on which bills are to be granted, that you may be enabled to clear up any Mistakes we may have committed.



Captn. Robt. Geddes has paid into our Treasury, Pillar Dollars 59,600 for which we have granted him three receipts—the unfortunate capture of the *Betsy* you will have known long before this reaches your hands.

By the *Fox* Packet which sailed from Europe in August 1781 the Court of Directors informed us that it was their intention to send at least 12 Ships to China this year, and that they should order four of the Ships destined for the settlement in India to be likewise dispatched for this place if no investment was ready for them, we were from hence induced to provide Cargoes for fourteen Ships; four only are yet imported here, *vis.*, the *Lorke*, *Osterly*, *Atlas* and *Essex*, so that we have ten Ships Cargoes laying on hand to their great detriment and at a great risque to the Company and Merchants for which we are under the necessity of drawing Bills which must be severely felt by the Company, who depend greatly on the Investments from hence at this very critical time. We therefore make it our earnest request that you will as much as lays in your power accelerate the dispatch of any Ships that may be under your orders destined for this place, that they may arrive here in time to prepare for their early departure.

The non-arrival of expected ships these two successive years has also involved us in the greatest perplexities respecting our future measures; the disappointments we have experienced renders it imprudent in us to provide Cargoes which nevertheless cannot be had at a short notice if many Ships should arrive. It may therefore contribute much to our successful management of this branch of the Company's Trade, if you would not divert the destination of any Ships intended for this Port.

We have settled the exchange for this season at 5-6d. Sterling P. Dollar from a conviction that the trade to China wants every encouragement in our power to grant.

We have duly honoured the Bills drawn upon us amounting to Dollars 76,101.5—but observe there are errors in them which we shall rectify in our Books.

We beg leave to lay before you the following circumstances in addition to what we had the honor to relate respecting Mr. McClary's conduct last year, to which we have received no answer, indeed we must take the liberty to observe that we have not had the pleasure to receive any answer from your Board to any of our Letters these four years past. Captain John McClary sailed from this Port the 16th of December last, with a determination as we since find to seize on the Ships belonging to the Portuguese City of Macao wherever he should meet them in return for that Government's unjustifiable treatment of him; accordingly near the Straits of Banca he met two Ships which he took, the one on a pretence of having Dutch property on board, the other belonging to the person who had a principal share in compelling him to make restitution for the vessel lost. These Ships were bound to Batavia, the one on a trading voyage to Mauritius, the other to receive a Cargo for which a considerable sum had been paid down to the Dutch Council residing here.\* We do not presume to point out to you, Gentlemen, the ruin that has attended these people by such unheard acts of violence in Captain McClary, and how much it concerns the Honor of your Government and the Nation at large to see justice done in this case. Applications have been made and Sundry papers sent us on the subject which we do ourselves the honor to transmit, and have only now to request that some attention may be paid to them. We likewise beg leave to profer another complaint against this Gentleman for going forcibly on board a Chinese junk near Banca belonging to a principal merchant of this place, which he plundered for four days and took out goods to a very considerable amount on pretence of their being Dutch. We have been been applied to by the Owners who declare the goods to be Chinese property and from the nature of the assortment we are inclined to credit them. Enclosed is the account delivered to us. The

\* Illegible.



Dutch Council have likewise represented his conduct in a memorial which we enclose at their request.

Enclosed you will receive a price Current and List of Ships at this Port.

CANTON,  
November 26, 1782.

THO. FREEMAN,  
THOMAS KATCK VAN MICROF.

We have the honor to be  
Gentlemen,  
Your most obedient & most humble servants,

JAS. BRADSHAW  
GEO. ROGERS  
ABR. ROEBUCK  
HENRY BROWNE  
JOHN HARRISON  
GEORGE CUMING  
CHARLES EDWD. PIGOU  
HENRY SANE  
DAVID LANCE

### LIST OF SHIPS AT CANTON, 1781.

SHIPS' NAMES.	Commanders.	Of what Nation.	Whampoa.	
			Arrived.	Sailed.
Glatton ...	Captain Clements ...	English ...	Feb. 3rd.	April 9th.
Pigot ...	Morgan ...	Do. ...	Do. 3rd.	Do. 9th.
Lord Holland ...	Williams ...	Do. ...	Do. 9th.	Do. 9th.
Earl of Mansfield ...	Fraser ...	Do. ...	Do. 14th.	Do. 9th.
Vansittart ...	Young ...	Do. ...	Do. 28th.	Do. 9th.
Dodaley Country Ship from Bengal. This Ship arrived here last year, and remained on the Coast of China.	McClary ...	Do. ...	July 28th.	Dec. 16th.
Good Hope Country Ship from Surat.	Antonio Pires ...	Dutch ...	Do. 29th.	
Gustavus the 3rd ...	J. A. Burtz ...	Swedish ...	Sep. 2nd.	
Rumbold Country Ship from Bengal.	Cranston ...	English ...	Do. 2nd.	
Sophia Magdalena ...	Spindler ...	Swedish ...	Do. 2nd.	
Mary Country Ship from Bengal.	Glass ...	English ...	Do. 3rd.	
Hunter Country Ship from Bombay.	Gordon ...	Do. ...	Do. 29th.	Dec. 15th.
Drake Country Ship from Sooloo.	Hobbs ...	Do. ...	Do. 29th.	
Cartier Country Ship from Bombay.	Watson ...	Do. ...	Do. 29th.	
Crown Prince ...	Foss ...	Danish ...	Do. 30th.	
Juliana Maria ...	Schifter ...	Do. ...	Do. 30th.	
Shaw Biram Gore Country Ship from Bombay ...	Maughan ...	English ...	Do. 30th.	
York Country Ship from Bombay ...	Faulkner ...	Do. ...	Do. 30th.	Dec. 7th.
Contractor ...	Baldwin ...	Do. ...	Do. 30th.	
Duke of Portland ...	Sutton ...	Do. ...	Do. 30th.	
Ponaborn ...	LeMesurier ...	Do. ...	Do. 30th.	
Royal Charlotte ...	Cotton ...	Do. ...	Do. 30th.	
Rodney Brig ...	Corner ...	Do. ...	Second Bar Nov. 2nd.	
Prince Frederick ...	Hoyer ...	Danish ...	Dec. 12th.	
Hastings ...	Thompson ...	English ...	Do. 24th.	



On this 27th Day of April 1782 appeared before me Daniel Diedrick Van Haak first Sworn Clerk in the General Secretary's office of the Hon'ble Surpreme Indian Government at Batavia, in the Presence of the aftermentioned Witnesses, assisted by the Translator Leendert Goosen and by the Interpretation of the Chinese Secretary Lira Jongkong ; Tan Hoatko Anochado and Ting Jongko Purser of the Canton Junk *Thatjaan* lately arrived here, who together and each separately for himself for the sake of Truth, declare to be true.

That they sailed from Canton on the 15th Feby. this year in the said Junk and on the afternoon of the 25th March following being arrived in the Streights of Banca, they then met Eight Sail, as well Ships as smaller Vessels who all showed Dutch Colours.

That they being under sail, were saluted by an Englishman with a Shot in order to bring them to an anchor, and having done this, a Boat manned with 30 Persons as well Europeans as Moors, came on board of the Junk, giving out that they belonged to the Company, and were come with honourable Intentions to visit the said Junk.

That out of these 30 Persons, 1 Englishmen and 2 Moors remained on board of the Junk, and the remainder of the People rowed back with the Boat to the English Ship.

That on the Day following about 12 O'Clock at noon Seven Englishmen came on board of the Junk and enquired whether there were any Letters or Goods on board for the Dutch, and immediately thereupon opened all the chests and Trunks, and took with them to their own Ship the Invoice of the Loading together with the first of these Deponents and two Passengers by name Oelj Toako and Njouer Kheng.

That the first of these Deponents saith that the Captain of that Ship then declared unto him and the aforesaid two Chinese by the Interpretation of a Canton Chinese, who was on board of the Ship, and called himself Oanako, but who, he the Deponent was informed, was properly named Jap Akoat, that he was an Englishman, adding, "I took last year at Canton a Dutch Ship, but the Great people of that Empire taking the part of the Dutch, compelled me by armed Force to restore the Ship and pay for the Cargoe, to my great shame and Loss, and as I now meet with a Canton Junk, I will make Reprisal."

That the first of these Deponents on the third Day of his being on board of the said English Ship saw from out of the windows of the Place he remained in *vis*, the Cabin, driving behind the Ship about Eleven Mahometans who on his coming on board, were already bound within the Ship and that such of them as were not immediately discovered, were shot to Death by Muskets from the Ship, whereof not only he the Deponent and the two aforesaid Chinese were witnesses, but also the Chinese Lij Taanko and Ooij Pianwko (who had already been taken and Made Prisoners by the English Captain, particularly the first Anachado from the Vessel of *Lim Liko* a Chinese Inhabitant of this Place coming from Macao, and the other or second Anachado from a Java Vessel returning from Jehor to Samarang).

That the Day following he the first Deponent desired Leave from the said Captain to go away, which was refused him, however that on the Sixth Day the Captain caused him the Deponent to be brought back to his Ship, the Hatches to be opened and the greatest Part of the Cargoe to be taken out and transported for four Days successively to a Macao Ship which he had taken, these Goods consisted in—

280	Chests Tea Peko which cost P. Pecal Tale	...	...	...	44	0
1,124	Do. Do. Santijorg	..	...	...	38	0
156	Do. Do. Hyson	...	...	...	54	0
1,057	Do. Do. Comhoe	...	...	...	18	0
22	Do. Do. Tjoe lan	...	...	...	80	0



26	Chests Tea	Tsoo	...	...	...	...	60	0
138	Do. Do.	Pic	...	...	...	...	26	0
650	gr.	Karboe	...	...	...	...	18	0
4,000	Pi.	Nankeen Linen, cost P.	Corge	...	...	...	7	6
700	Peculs	Spianitter or Teemague, P.	Pical	...	...	...	7	0
13	Chests	Rhubarb	...	...	...	...	44	0
37	Bales	China cost in all	...	...	...	...	1,700	0
260	Nests of	Table Dishes, Tales	...	...	...	...	780	0
5	Chests	Silk Stuffs in Sorts	...	...	...	...	3,000	0
135	Bundles	Sort Wood or about 40 Peculs in all	...	...	...	...	440	0

That on the 30th March about 5 o'clock in the Morning the above said Captain wanted to send the Boat again to the said Junk, to take more Goods out of her, but there being none left of any consequence, he only took away with all speed the four men, whom he had left on board of the Junk, and having brought them on board of his own Ship, he immediately weighed Anchor and got under sail taking with him the four beforementioned Chinese Oei Tsooko and Mjoun Khing Li Tunko and Oei Peauwko.

That they the Deponents on the same morning about 7 o'clock got in sight of three large Ships and a Grub, which shewed English colours, a Boat from which came to their Junk about 12 o'clock at noon, whose Commander enquired after what had occurred to them and signed the Relation of him the first Deponent, further assuring them that the last said ships were Dutch Ships and that the Rear Admiral Schryver was on board one of them.

That the same immediately pursued their Voyage, steering towards the above said English Ships, and he the Deponent continued his Voyage to Batavia. All the foregoing Things stated the Deponents declare to be the pure and genuine Truth, and to be ready if required thereto to confirm the same on Oath.

Thus done and passed in the Secretary General's Office on the Day first above written in the Presence of Dirk Renevenkamp and Jan Hindick Dorren Sworn Clerks as Witnesses. Underneath stood (some Character put thereby) *Tan Huatse* and *Tjing Jongko* (lower). In Token of me (was signed) D. D. Van Haak first Sworn Clerk (on the side stood.) In the Presence of us (was signed) D. Renevenkamp and J. H. Dorris (lower for the Interpreting was signed) L. Goossen and L. Tjoenkong (further stood). The minute of this was duly signed by the Deponents, the underwritten first Clerk, the Witnesses, the Translator of the Malay Language Goossen and the Secretary of the Chinese L. Tjoenkong for the Interpretation, (underneath stood). Quod Attestor (was signed) D. Dran Haak First Sworn Clerk.

A true Translation,  
A. L. GILBERT,  
Dutch Translator.

Conformable to the Original of this deposited  
in the Dutch Factory at Canton in China.  
JN. BENTHAM,  
Secretary.

On this 27th Day of April 1783 appeared before me Daniel Diedrick Van Haak first Sworn Clerk in the General Secretary's Office of the Hon'ble Supreme India Government at Batavia. In presence of the Witnesses hereafter mentioned: *Abdul Salth* Native of Samarang and there serving under the Captain of the Malays, by appearance of the Age of 18 or 19 years, who for the sake of Truth declared, that he went in the Beginning of this year as Passenger on the Vessel of one *Baohus Meda* from Samarang to Siac and there afterwards hired himself as a sailor on a Vessel of the King of Siac, which was on its Departure from thence to Samarang, to bring a Cargo of Rice, commanded by the



*Anachoda* Kaaia and a Mate named Jutje Moessa (beside the *Anachoda* Native of Kamper) and manned with Nineteen Sailors, One of whom he the Deponent was.

That he the Deponent having sailed from Siac with this Vessel, to the best of his Recollection on the 11th or 12th of March this year, after sailing twenty days met about Palantikang opposite a certain River called Oepang, two Ships lying at anchor there, a Boat from which rowed to his Vessel, and having approached, the People in it who were Englishmen, ordered his *Anachoda* to bear down upon these Ships, to come to an anchor by them and to shew them a Pass.

That this Vessel thereupon having come to an anchor near these Ships, the *Anachoda* with four sailors, among whom he the Deponent was one, the names of the other three being *Idian Chattep*, and *Jurabatos* were rowed in a *Champang* to one of the English Ships, being followed by the said English Boat.

That he the Deponent having come along side of one of those English Ships with the *Champang* the *Anachoda* went on board of that Ship with the Pass and he the Deponent together with his companions remained in the Boat, but were afterwards ordered by the English to come also on board.

That he the Deponent and his three Companions having in obedience thereto climbed up the side and got upon the Quarter Deck of the Ship without finding the *Anachoda* there, were asked in the Malay Language by one, whom he the Deponent took to be a Buggis, and had the appearance of a Slave, from whence they came and whither going. That he the Deponent with his Companion thereupon answered that they came from Siac and intended going to Samarang for a Cargoe of Rice, the English Captain who, he the Deponent was informed, was named Maclary, in consequence ordered them to go into the Hole of his Ship, which having accordingly done, there came some Englishmen with ropes to bind them. That he the Deponent with his Companions protested against it, saying what have we done amiss, that we should be bound, however that the English notwithstanding proceeding in their Intention, they got loose from them and jumped into the Sea, with the Intention of swimming to their Vessel; that He, the Deponent and his said three Companions, attempting to do this, the armed People of the English Ship who rowed after them, shot his three Companions dead with their Muskets as they swam, so that he only returned back to his Vessel unwounded.

That a little Time after there came also on board of that Vessel a large English Boat or *chaloupe* with fifteen armed Englishmen who ordered him the Deponent with the yet remaining sixteen men to get into it, and afterwards took everything out of the Vessel that suited them, and having made a Hole in the Keel, sunk her. That he the Deponent with the remaining Sixteen men were carried in the Boat to the English Ship, and having got to the Ship (as near as he can guess) about 12 o'clock at noon, they went in one by one, and were visited by armed men, who took away from them whatever Arms they had such *crosses* or *Kiwang* and were carried down with both legs fastened in a Block, which made him then perceive, that must have been the Fate also of the *Anachoda*.

That after they had thus sat for an Hour in the Stocks on board of the English Ship, the English Captain Maclary came below, visited them, and after having spoken with his People, caused him the Deponent, with one other of his Companions named Tjeno to be loosened from the Stocks, and left them at Liberty, as he imagines on account of their youth, to go loose about the ship, however bound them towards the Evening to the Mast with Ropes about their waists, in which situation they were obliged to pass that and the following nights.

That a small quantity of bad black Rice and a small dry Fish was given daily to each of them for their Food and that whenever they had occasion to go to the Ship's Head, they



were always accompanied thither and back again by two armed Englishmen, who followed them with Pistols ready cocked and immediately put into the Stocks again all the others of the Crew except him the Deponent and Tjeno. That after they had thus passed five Days on board of the English Ship, about 10 o'clock in the morning, the *Anachoda Kaija* was brought up, and stretched out upon the Deck, held fast by some Europeans; and his Head chopped off by another with an axe, and afterwards thrown into the Sea, that the same was afterwards done to the Chief Officer *Jutje Moessa* and that immediately after that, the remaining fourteen men were brought up one by one with their arms tied behind them with Ropes, and so thrown overboard into the Sea, such of them as did not immediately sink, being shot to Death with Muskets, which he the Deponent imagines may very well have been seen through the windows by the *Anachoda* of the Chinese Junk, whom he recognized at the Time of passing this in the Person of *Tan Houlke* who together with other Chinese were in the Cabin. That he the Deponent together with his Companion Tjeno, were also laid hold of, to be in like manner thrown into the Sea, but were afterwards let loose at the solicitation of the Macao Captain and delivered over to him who brought them hither, and had a little before come on board of that ship, and been a witness of these cruel murders.

That the English committed these cruel murders, laughing, sporting, and making themselves drunk, without being in the least moved by the supplications and cryings of these unhappy Victims to their Cruelty.

He the Deponent further declares that nothing had been undertaken or done by his aforesaid Unhappy Ship Companions, that could be constructed into any Resistance and by which they might otherwise endeavour to find Excuse for this cruel massacre, and that such was also altogether impossible as they were constantly kept without Arms or Weapons, and watched Night and Day by an European with a Drawn Sword.

And further deposing to have heard from the *Anachoda* that the Pass was signed and granted by the King of Siac. The Deponent declares all the aforewritten state to be in every Respect conformable to Truth; and to be ready, if required, to make Oath thereto.

Done and passed in the Secretary General's Office on the Day mentioned in the first Part hereof, under the Interpretation of the Malay Translator Lecudert Goossen and in the Presence of Dirk Rawekamp and Jan Hendick Dorrien Sworn Clerks as Witnesses. There stood under—some characters put by Abdul Salek, and lower In Token of me—was signed D. Dyan Haak C. G. Clerk (In the margin) In the Presence of us was signed D. Rewenkamp and Jan Hendick Dorrien (lower) For the Translation (was signed) L. Goossen (further on stood). The Minute hereof was duly signed by the Deponent, the Sworn Clerk as witness and the Translator Goossen for the Interpretation and me the under written. Underneath stood Quod Attestor (was signed) D. Dyan Haak first Sworn Clerk conformable to the Original deposited in the Dutch Factory at Canton in China.

A. L. GILBERT,  
*Dutch Translator.*

FK. BENTHEM,  
*Secretary.*

1782. P. P. 3390-3391, O.C., 24th October No. 14.

TO BOMBAY,

FORT WILLIAM,  
24th October 1782.

Having called upon Capt. McLary to reply to the charge alledged against him in the petition which you transmitted to us from Mr. Sluyskin, we received the enclosed letter and papers from Capt. Maclary which we take this occasion to forward to you that



you may communicate them to the parties who think themselves aggrieved; and, if they shall not be satisfied with this explanation, we request that you will acquaint them, the Courts of Justice are open for redressing their wrongs if they shall think proper to commence a prosecution against him, but that it is not in our power to interfere further in this matter.

We are dear Sir, etc.

(Unsigned draft letter of Governor General and Council at Fort William).

1783, O. C., 10th Feb. No. 4.

TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

SIR,

Pione Junk being dispatched from Canton, with goods as per inclosed list amounting to 36,390, Mr. Canderim, to be delivered at Batavia, was stopped by Captain MacClary and plundered of all the cargo she had on board.

I hope you, as Great Governor of the English, will see justice done to me, as my nation are in peace with the English everywhere; and it is very hard and cruel that I must suffer this great loss, when I have for many years back been known to all the Super-Cargoes at Canton as an honest man.

As I am informed that Captain MacClary is gone to Bagall, I hope you will make him deliver up the goods to you, and the produce thereof to remit to the English Super-cargoes at Canton with orders to pay me the same as also the damages that I have sustained by my vessel being stopped and plundered by Captain MacClary.

Be assured I shall always be glad to render every service in my power to you and the other English Super-Cargoes here, for this especial piece of service in seeing justice done to me.

{No signature.}

[Enclosed in the Letter from Canton 26th November 1782.]

1783. P.P. 1061-1065, O. C., 24 Feb. No. 1.

MACAO,

2nd December 1782.

HON'BLE SIR,

The piracies committed by Captain John McClary, after his departure from the Port of Bengal, I presume, your Honour has been informed:—It being incumbent on me from the appointment, I hold under Government, I cannot avoid addressing your Honour on so important subject. The heavy losses that his most faithful Majesty's Subjects have suffered being represented to me are as follows:—He captured and almost in sight of our Flag, a sloop, entirely Portuguese property, which had sailed from this Port bound to Manilla. Without attention to her pass or manifest, immediately bore away with her for the China Islands, where unfortunately a strong gale came on; the vessel struck, went to pieces, and most of the crew perished.

The President and Members of the Senate of this Town being empowered to judge of causes of this nature, and to see justice done to the parties:—Captain McClary at the time, being under arrest, his cause was well examined into, and it was resolved that he should pay the amount of the sloop and cargo to her owners, to which he agreed.

He then proceeded to Canton, where he publicly bragged that he would be revenged of the inhabitants of this place, that he would take and plunder every vessel of theirs till he phafully repaid himself.



Having been fully informed that these were his intentions, I made a protest, and laid it before the Hon'ble Company's Super Cargoes, for their consideration, a copy of which, with their answer I now have the honour to enclose for your perusal.

Notwithstanding the steps I took, Captain McClary has captured since two ships belonging to the inhabitants of this town, under most barbarous pretences. I am confident there is no law in the world that can warrant such mode of proceeding. This is not only what is to be considered, but the many disagreeable consequences that may attend the good understanding that has so long subsisted between the two nations.

I hope you will prevent any future misunderstanding; as I am sensible your Honour is possessed of every quality, that can adorn one to fill the appointment you held under his Britanick Majesty; I shall not take up your time, as the President and Members of the Senate of this Town intend to address your Honour more at large on the subject.

God preserve your Honour for many years.

(Sd.) FRAS. X. DECASTRO,  
CASTAS ANKER,

A true translation.  
STEPHEN SHEA.

MACAO, the 4th December 1782.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

The behaviour of John McClary has been the cause of great losses to the Subjects of the Crown of Portugal; Inhabitants of the Town of Macao.

John McClary on the 19th of May captured a Sloop, that was bound from this place to Manilla, property of two Merchants, inhabitants of this Town; She had been purchased by the Said Portuguese Merchants—in June 1779 before the Publication of the war between Great Britain and Spain.

The captured people were used contrary to the rules of hospitality by the Commanding Officer on board of the Privateer, he did not as much as examine her pass or manifests, nor would he permit them to correspond with each other, nor to write to this Town, where Captain McClary was at the time, and for whom the Commanding Officer was waiting.

By accounts that the Chinese received of the captured Sloop being totally lost, and nineteen of her people drowned, among them was one of the Owners; on the receipt thereof Captain McClary was confined.

By virtue of a representation made by the Owners, Captain John McClary was delivered over to ye Court, who enquiring very particularly into this affair, found that the whole of the Sloop's Cargo belonged to Subjects of the Crown of Portugal, Emperor of China, and Armenian Merchants, residents of this Town.

John McClary, being ordered to deposit the Amount of the Cargo, and damages; A bill was filed, and John McClary appointed as his Attorneys Messrs. David Lance and William Fisher, Super Cargoes of the Hon'ble Company, and he declared, that, he would abide by whatever they should do.

John McClary being informed of every circumstance in writing,—his Attorneys having desired to have the perusal of the Sloops Accounts, Bonds, &c. They accordingly were immediately presented to his Attorneys Messrs. Lance & Fisher on the 6th of July 1781.



The Deeds were returned by his Attorneys, with their answer No. 4—Signed by them. John McClary being informed of the whole of the proceedings to that Period "Said, if the Proprietors of the Sloop would agree to take 200 Chests of Opium, he in the meantime would give as his Security for the Delivery of it, his Attorneys jointly with James Bradshaw, Esq., first Super-Cargo to the Hon'ble Company; provided they would leave him at liberty to go to his Vessel, which was off Tiger's head near Canton, and that he afterwards would return to fulfill his Agreement which was signed by him the said John McClary.

At the repeated request of the Attorneys of the said McClary, the proprietors of the Sloop accepted of the 200 Chests of Opium, the Duties to be Discharged by them; by which they are great losers, as the Cargo of the Sloop amounted to 60,499-95 Arros, the Cost of the Sloop, Disbursements, &c. added amount to \$9,000.

The Letter of Licence was registered before the Judges, by a Notary Publick, and signed by the Hon'ble Company's Super-Cargoes.

On the 10th of July McClary embarked to go on board of his ship, and on the 19th instant deliver'd 200 Chests of Opium, in conformity to his agreements, with the Proprietor of the Sloop, who were equally satisfied; The cause then was extinct at pr Copy No. 1. The Judges behaved with great Candor on their sides. That Captain McClary might the better defend himself and prove that he was not a Pirate, he presented a Letter of Marque, passed and signed, by the Council of Bengal, with the Hon'ble Company's Seal, being translated into Portuguese, it was joined to the Deeds, and in Consideration of his being possessed of the said Letter of Marque, he was not treated as a Pirate.

In the Monsoon of 1782 the said McClary sailed from Canton for the Straights of Banca, where he made prisoners of many Chinese and Captured several Malacca Vessels and Cruelly murder'd many Malays; He also Captured Two Vessels belonging to this Town;—The *Sta. Maria Mayor*, and the *Sta. Antonio Novo*, making Prisoners of the Captains and Ship's Company, and Obligated the subjects of the Crown of Portugal, when at the Ports of Malacca to stand to his Guns, and Fight against a French Privateer, and a Dutch ship,—the said McClary went on purpose after into the said Ports, all this against the consent of our people.

The reason he gives for having captured the *Sta. Maria Mayor* is as follows, after nine days, as appears by a receipt No. 4; he declared that it was to repay himself of the sum of Eighty Thousand Dollars, that was taken from him at this Town;—After using the Captain as a prisoner, he put him into a small sloop, which he the said McClary had Captured—and which he had before this an intention of sinking, in consequence of which he had taken her sails and stores out, and in this manner delivered her to the Captain of the *Santa Maria Mayor*, who with great risk went in her to Battavia.

The aforesaid McClary jointly with Captain Bracey captured the ship *Sta. Antonio Novo*; giving no other reason for this strange manner of acting, than that, they were informed she was Freight'd by the Dutch; because she happened to have a small part of her Cargo on freight for Battavia; Which was immediately declared to them, on their coming on board of the Ship *Sta. Antonio Novo*; But there was not the least attention paid to our Pass Port or Flag—"They declared that they had a Letter of Marque granted them by the Supreme Council of Bengal: Sealed with the Seal of The Hon'ble United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies Vassals to the King of Great Britain."

We think what we have related, respecting the two Privateers, demands your most serious consideration, and a complete satisfaction to the Vassals of the Crown of Portugal, as likewise for the Affront done to His most Faithful Majesty's Flag.



A Resolution passed on the 8th July 1780 expressly orders us to support liberty in Trade, but in the meantime, not to let an insult be offered to our Flag.

His Majesty was also pleased to declare to his subjects A Resolution of the Neutral Powers—the 8th May 1781.

The King of Great Britain had published a Resolution of 24 Articles for the better regulation of Privateers—under date of 21st December 1780. There was one article added after, under date 15th February 1781 to pay particular Respect to the Flag of Princes in Friendship with Great Britain; being subject to make the most ample, and complete satisfaction to the parties offended, and be severely chastised, should they in the least deviate from the rules laid down.

The Senate expects of your Hon'ble Board compleat satisfaction, for the Injuries and severe losses caused to the Vassals of his most Faithful Majesty,—likewise for the affront done to our Flag.

The subjects of Great Britain have ever been treated in this Town, with all the attention, equal to the great Friendship that has ever subsisted between our Monarchs, tho' the Inhabitants of this Town, have severely felt the heavy losses—that Captain John McClary has been instrumental to.—Yet it has not altered till this period the good and friendly understanding that subsisted.

The Vassals of His most Faithful Majesty confide in the Justice of the Hon'ble Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Bengal, as most Faithful representatives of the King of Great Britain.

The Senate of Macao, very justly expects entire satisfaction, not only by the restitution of the two ships, that were Captured belonging to this Town. The *Santa Maria Mayor* of Messrs. Antonio Botelho, Homen, Bernader Pessoa, and Agostinho Antonio Spada, and the Ship *Santa Antonio Novo* to Mr. Simaode Arango Rom. As also for all the damages and disappointments caused to the Inhabitants of this place.

We have the Honour to conclude with esteem,

Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen,

Your most Obedient humble Servants,

(Sd.) MANOEL VICENTE ROZA PERREIRA

ALFERESMOS,

*Secretary to the Senate.*

(Sd.) { JOSE DE MIRANDA DE SOUZA  
JOSE ANTONIO DE ABROU.  
JOAO RIBEIRO GUIMAREINS.  
JOAO PINTO DE CASTRO.  
SIMAO DE ARANJO ROZA.  
MANOEL PERREIRA DA FONCECA.

A true Translation

STEPHEN SHE'A.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL, &CE, SUPREME COUNCIL.

GENTLEMEN.

By the *Nonach* now dispatched We do ourselves the honor to enclose Triplicate of our Letter to you dated the 25th Novemr last, together with the several Papers enclosed her. Expences here we have not yet settled, which is the reason we do not forward them by her.



We are sorry the Chests of Opium were not covered in the usual manner with Gunnies, it would have preserved the Chests, (which are now in very bad order) as well as the Opium from damage. We beg leave to inform you that only fifteen Chests have yet been delivered to the purchaser, out of which one has been returned, being leaves and dirt mixed with a small quantity of Opium.

We request your care of the enclosed Packets for Fort St. George, Bombay and Bencoolen, and

I have the Honor to be,

GENTLEMEN,

CANTON, *Decemr 12th 1782*

Your most obedient h'ble Servants

JAS. BRADSHAW

GEO. ROGERS.

ARR. ROZBUCK

HENRY BROWNE

JOHN HARRISON

GEORGE CUMING

CHARLES EDWD. PIGOU

HENRY SANE

DAVID LANCE

THO. FREEMAN

THOMAS KUYCK VAN MICROF

*P.S.*—We have been requested to enclose you a letter from the Owner of the Junk plundered by Captn. McClary in which he represents his loss, and begs your protection.

1783 O. C. 27th February, No. 18 B.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

I take the liberty to inform your Honour of my arrival from Macao at this place. My only object in view is that your Honor will cause justice to be done me in my claim of the ship *St. Antonio*, captured by Captains MacClary and Bracey as also the great loss I have sustained; which I presume the Hon'ble Companies Super-Cargoes at Canton have more fully informed your Honour.

When it will be convenient to your Honour to favour me with an audience I shall have the honour to wait upon your Honour.

I have etc.,

(Sd.) MANUEL VINCENT ROZADE BARROS.

1783. O. C. 10th March, No. 12, B.

FORT WILLIAM,  
*10th March 1783.*

TO JAMES BRADSHAW, ESQ.,

CHIEF AND SUPRA-CARGOES, AT CANTON.

GENTLEMEN,

Our last letter to you was written by the *Northumberland* under date the 26th August, a copy of which we enclose.

We also enclose triplicate lists of the certificates issued by us both upon the Cargoes of the *Betsy* and *Nonsuch* and a list of those by the former for which you will be pleased to grant Bills of Exchange on the Hon'ble the Court of Directors agreeably to the desire expressed in our letter to you of the 26th August last, and upon the terms which we had



agreed upon with the holders as condition in the present certificates. We have only to remark that some names have been added to the list since that period and we have granted fresh certificate, the former being rendered void.

We have lately received your letters by the *Nonsuch* dated the 26th of November and 12th of December last.

We are concerned that the opium which we consigned to you by the *Nonsuch* did not turn out to better account. The competition of private Macao merchants for the sale of their opium would no doubt impede that of the Company's and we were aware of this circumstance before we dispatched it, but we knew that the traffic of the Macao ships in general was not extensive nor could be in this article when the greatest part was engrossed for the Company, besides it would neither have been just nor proper to lay a sudden embargo on its exportation for the sake of favoring the Company's risk.

As you have not apprized us of your wants for the ensuing season and discouraged us from any further attempts to supply your Treasury by the produce of opium shipped on the Company's account, we have not resolved upon any plan for affording you assistance in the point of supplies from this place.

We observe your expected deficiency of tonnage for the transportation of your investment to Europe and shall endeavour to obviate this inconvenience by forwarding the following ships to their destination at Canton in time, as we hope, to be laden in December next. They arrived too late to be able to effect the voyage to China in the course of the last season, and have consequently been employed in services most essential and necessary to the public interests.

The appearance of the French fleet so near to the mouth of this river as Ganjam, while our's was at Bombay, has for some time past prevented the ships from sailing, but they have now cargoes of Saltpetre and Grain for the use of the Presidencies to which they are first bound and we have desired that they may be dispatched to you from thence without loss of time.

*Ships sailing for Madras and China—*

<i>The Kent</i>	...	...	...	...	...	STOAKES
<i>Latham</i>	...	...	...	...	...	ROBERTSON
<i>Dutton</i>	...	...	...	...	...	WEST
<i>Calcutta</i>	...	...	...	...	...	THOMSON
<i>Chesterfield</i>	...	...	...	...	...	BOSWELL

*For Bombay and China—*

<i>Ganges</i>	...	...	...	...	...	DENPSTER
<i>Alfred</i>	...	...	...	...	...	BROWN
<i>Hawke</i>	...	...	...	...	...	COITON

*Ceres* and *Talbot*, instead of coming here, have been obliged to sail for Bombay.

The letter, which we have received from you of the 26th November being marked triplicate, did not contain the papers which it refers to concerning Captain McLary; we nevertheless read with attention your former representation of the 14th November 1781, respecting his proceedings at China accompanied by a protest against him for selling a Dutch ship in the river at Whampoa. At the time when we received this letter, Captain McLary being absent, we could not take any notice of the complaint which it contained. In the month of July last, soon after his arrival, a charge was preferred against him and Mr. John O'Donnell accusing them with having murdered several Malays in the straits of Malacca: we caused them to be immediately apprehended, and entered into a formal and particular examination of the evidence produced in support of this



accusation, but released Captain McLary for against whom there were proofs or valid grounds for a indictment, and Mr. O'Donnell was sent to take his trial by the Court of Admiralty at Madras by whom he was acquitted.

We likewise received a memorial and complaint against Captain McLary from Mr. Sluysken, a Dutch prisoner of war at Serat, desiring our assistance to obtain satisfaction for his property in the Gold, Pearl, etc., said to have been detained by Captain McLary from on board the Dutch ship which he captured at Whampoa. We called upon Captain McLary, and received his reply thereto, a copy of which we enclosed.

Complaints were about the same time preferred to us by the Super-Cargoes of some Portuguese ships at this port against Captain McLary for acts of piracy said to have been committed by him (and to which you allude in your letter now before us) in the seizure of two ships of that nation near the straits of Banca.

In reply to the memorial from Mr. Sluysken we desired the President and Council at Bombay to impart to him Captain McLary's letter in vindication of himself, and to acquaint him that the Court of Justice, which was the only power in this country competent to grant him redress for the loss he had sustained, was open to any prosecution he might think proper to institute against Captain McLary or others, either for the recovery of his property in a civil suit or to punish a criminal offence.

With respect to the Portuguese Super-Cargoes, we informed them likewise that we possessed no judicial powers which could enable us to satisfy their claim, but if any one of them would remain here to prosecute it in the Supreme Court, and procure the evidence of the facts which might be necessary to establish the allegations, we would grant him all the assistance and support in our power to obtain a legal decision, but none of them were willing to undertake the prosecution nor to stay here to give their evidence, in it not being as we presume sufficiently interested to engage in a measure of this kind to the prejudice of their more immediate avocations.

Within these few days we have received a letter from the Portuguese Government at Macao upon the subject of these claims; and persons, as we believe more nearly concerned in the property of the captured ships, have come here to assert their rights to a restitution of their effects, and to seek a compensation for damages by whom also we have been addressed.

We have submitted a state of the case to the Company's Advocate-General with all the papers transmitted to us by the Government at Macao for his opinion on the properest and most effectual means to be pursued for obtaining complete redress to the injured parties and we shall act immediately upon his report being determined, in vindication of the national honour and in support of the complainants, who have a right to our protection, to grant them the use of the Company's Law officers with every proper legal assistance and support in the prosecution of their just claims which may be necessary to attain a due retribution.

You must be sensible that we possess no judicial powers to enquire into complaints of this nature. We feel ourselves exceedingly distressed in the appeals which have been made to us, and which can only be heard and redressed by a regular process of Law. At the same time we have done all that depended on us by instructing the parties in the necessary forms and granting them the assistance of our attorney and advocate to carry in a civil suit, but if a criminal prosecution is intended it will be necessary to refer them to the prisoners of Fort St. George, where a competent admiralty jurisdiction exists by the old charter, tho' its powers are defective at this place. We have written a reply to the Government of Macao copy of which we enclosed.

We are concerned to observe the differences which have subsisted between the Hon'ble Company's Super-Cargoes and the Portuguese Government at Macao as a good understanding



between you is so material to the success of the Company's concerns in China and so necessary to your own ease and welfare. We have transmitted copies of the papers which we received from you to our Resident at Goa, with directions to lay them before the Governor-General of that place for the interposition of his controlling power to secure a proper attention to your privileges, and to bring about a perfect reconciliation between you. The Resident will take first opportunity of notifying to you the success of his application. You will see by our letter to the Governor at Macao what we have written to them on this subject.

We cannot avoid taking notice of a passage in your letter of 26th November wherein you say "that you have not had the pleasure to receive any answer from our Board to any of your letters there four years past." We have referred to the letters which you have written to us within the period, and find that we regularly acknowledge the receipt of them by the first dispatches after their arrival and advised you as regularly of our proceedings and determinations in consequence whether to supply you with funds for the provision of the Company's investment or to perform other acts which regarded your establishment; and, though we did not take up paragraph by paragraph for the purpose of entering into the details of a long and circumstantial reply to all of the letters, we kept you substantially informed of every arrangement and circumstance that it was requisite for the public service you should be acquainted with, except in the single instance of furnishing you with our Assay Master's report upon various coins which you sent us to have the real fineness and value of them ascertained—which report owing to an accident was not delivered in to us till lately. We have now the pleasure to enclose a copy of it which we hope will prove satisfactory to you.

Mr. George Templer, having represented to us that his certificates granted upon the *Nonsuch* Cargo, were all lost in their way to Canton, we have given him a fresh set taking from him an indemnification against the appearance of the former, and have inserted a clause intitling him to Bills at the same rate of exchange as the former Bills granted by you upon this consignment with interest at Rs. 8 per cent. from the date of the said Bills, till the period when Bills shall be granted to him. As we understand that some others are in the same predicament we have made the rule general which we observed in this instance and request your complaint with it, accordingly.

Since writing the above we have received your original letter of the 26th November by a Portuguese ship with the papers concerning Captain McLary enclosed.

Mr. Abraham Lister, who is now here, has presented a memorial to us complaining of oppressions from the Macao Government, but, as it appears from his own representation that he drew them upon himself by the violence of his behaviour at Canton, we cannot think him entitled to the interference of my Government.

We remain, Sir, etc.

(*Unsigned draft of the Governor-General  
and Council.*)

1783. O. C., 10 Mar. No. 13.

TO HIS EXCELLENCEY DON XAVIER DE CASTRO,  
GOVERNOR, &c., MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL AT MACAO.

GENTLEMEN,

We have had the honour to receive your letter of the 4th of December last complaining of acts of Piracy said to have been committed upon ships of your nation in the Straits of Borneo by Captain John McLary. The Governor-General has also received and laid before us a letter from your Governor of the end of that month upon the same subject.



We could not help feeling concern and indignation at reading the circumstances of Captain McLary's conduct as set forth in these letters. Willing as we are to afford you all the assistance of our Government in punishing an offence of this enormous nature, upon sufficient proofs of the fact being produced, we can only lament the want of powers in ourselves to grant you this immediate satisfaction, but the nature of our constitution is such that delinquents can only be tried by certain legal forms before a competent court of judicature and by a process of lawful evidence.

In the month of last the super-cargoes of some Portuguese ships, which were then in this port, preferred a complaint to us upon this subject against Captain McLary, and being desirous to afford the most speedy and effectual redress to the persons aggrieved, we readily offered our support and the assistance of the Company's Law Officers to prosecute their claims, if any one of them would remain for that purpose and collect the evidence required, but this they declined to do, and it was not possible to proceed upon bare information.

We declare ourselves equally inclined and ready at this time to grant the advice and assistance of our Law Officers to the parties who have been injured, if they or any person on their behalf will attend with proper witnesses and proofs to establish the charge; and we have no doubt they will in that case obtain ample and satisfactory redress, but, without these precautions, any enquiry must doubtless fall to the ground, and rather tend to the acquittal of the person accused than to his conviction.

We are surprised to find by letters which we have received from the Company's Super-Cargoes at Canton and by copies of a series of correspondence which passed between your Government and that Council that you have menaced them with reprisals for the acts of Captain McLary and others which you had reason to find fault with. It appears to us that such a conduct in you would have been equally criminal and reprehensible with that which you complain of in Captain McLary, as the Law of Nations requires that the rights of individuals should be invariably respected and protected among all civilized states. Indeed we cannot suppose that your Government would be guilty of any infraction of it. For our own part we join most heartily with you in wishing to bring those delinquents to justice who have been accused of acting in defiance of the Laws. We therefore anxiously wait to be possessed of the only means by which it can be done—we mean the evidence required by a Court of Law, that a regular suit may be instituted by the parties here in the supreme Court of Judicature for the recovery of damages or criminal prosecution commenced before a competent Court of Admiralty, but neither of these Courts nor the powers of our Government are sufficient to grant redress for the injury which you complain of as suffered by your flag. If you think it necessary to insist upon the point we must beg leave to refer you to a higher authority in Europe.

FORT WILLIAM, *the 10th March 1783.*

We are, etc.,  
(UNSIGNED DRAFT.)

1783. O.C. 10th March, No. 14

FORT WILLIAM,  
*10th March, 1783.*

TO MR. CHARLES CROMMELIN,  
RESIDENT AT GOA.

SIR,

We enclose copies of a letter and sundry accompanying papers which we have received from the Company's Super Cargoes at Canton containing a correspondence between them and



the Portuguese Government at Macao of whose conduct and threats towards them they have complained to us. As we agree with the Super Cargoes in the opinion that the letters from the Governor of Macao are highly disrespectful, we desire that you will lay them before the Captain-General at Goa, with a desire that he will take proper notice of them by the authority which he possesses, and that he will be pleased to prescribe such a line of conduct to be observed by the Government at Macao towards the Company's Super-Cargoes that they may not be subject to like indignities in future. We enclose an extract of a letter which we have written for the Government at Macao on this subject, the purport of which may be repeated in your remonstrances upon this occasion. We desire you will acquaint the Super Cargoes at Canton as well as us with the result of your negotiations on their behalf.

We are, etc.,

(DRAFT OF LETTER OF GOV.-GENL. AND COUNCIL.)

1783, O.C., 10th March, No. 15.

CALCUTTA,  
10th March, 1783.

TO J. P. AURIOL, ESQ.

SIR,

Understanding that by the ship lately arrived from China, complaints have been made of my conduct as commander of the *Dodaley* by the Government of Macao, I hope that the Hon'ble Board will not deem it improper in me to request that I may be allowed to have a copy of the charges which have been laid against me, in order that I may be enabled to prepare a justification.

I am, etc.,

JOHN MCCLARY.

1783, O.C., 20th March, No. 21.

CALCUTTA,  
20th March, 1783.

TO JAMES PETER AURIOL, ESQ.,

SECRETARY TO THE GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

SIR,

I request that you will please to acquaint the Honorable Board that, in pursuance of their orders to me to assist Messrs Francisco Xavier de Castro, Agustinno Antonio Spada and others in their demand upon Mr. Macklary for seizing the ship *Santa Maria Mayor* and cargo, an action of trover has been brought for them against Messrs. Keble, Patrie and Paley, to whom Mr. Macklary sold the ship, and judgment given this day in favor of the former for 1,10,000 sicca rupees, at which price it appeared Messrs. Keble, Petrie and Parley had purchased her. An action is now about to be brought against Mr. Macklary to recover damages for the value of the cargo and the loss of the voyage.

I request you will please at the same time to acquaint the Honorable Board that Mr. De Barros and Mr. D'Royar, on whose account the Board have also directed me to take legal steps to recover the *Saint Antonio* and cargo, which have been seized by Mr. McLary, have agreed to submit their claims to arbitration.

I am, etc.,

GEO. WROUGHTON.

Atty. for ye Hon'ble Company.



1783, O.C., 22nd May, No. 2.

• CALCUTTA,  
March the 1st 1783.

*Upon the Question.*

In what manner the Board shall proceed to afford the redress required by the Portuguese Governor of Macao for piracies stated to have been committed in the China seas by John McClary upon the subjects of Portugal?

*The Advocate-General's Opinion.*

The papers refer'd do not appear to me to contain criminal matter so charged as to warrant this Government in taking any immediate measures against the person who is the object of this complaint.

If the charges they contain were verified by an information upon oath, it might then be proper to refer the complaints to the ordinary administration of Justice; but, in that event, it were also due to the honor of Government to inform them that from a defect in the constitution of the Supreme Court of Judicature, it is thought to be, in such cases, totally inadequate to the ends of Justice, and that it were, therefore, adviceable, if they meant to prosecute that they should at once resort to the Admiralty Jurisdiction of Madras which is beyond question competent to the cognizance of such offences.

And here a fair occasion offers to correct a former opinion of mine, upon a reference made to me, soon after my arrival in this country, of a similar complaint from the Government of Batavia.

I then declared that the Admiralty Jurisdiction given by the commission of the 5th George the 2nd to the late Government, survived to this. Upon better consideration, I am now convinced that there is not any Admiralty Jurisdiction here that can be exercised with effect. Having thus retracted this error before it had any consequences, I would, in the case now before me submit to the Governor-General and Council the propriety of answering the complaint and demand of satisfaction to the following effect:—

That the redress demanded can not, from the nature of our constitution, and from the legal restraints, under which it must in all its branches and at all times or it, be render'd in the summary way which the complainants seem to expect, but that if the parties aggrieved will send those witnesses of the outrages complained of who can establish them upon oath to the satisfaction of the proper Judicature—from motives of special amity to a People at all times friendly to Great Britain as well as from regards to the general interests of commerce and respects to the rights of Nations, the complainants shall receive from this Government every proper encouragement and support while from the equity and wisdom of our laws, and the known impartiality with which they are administer'd they may be also assured of redress adequate to the injury they may be able to prove they have sustained.

JOHN DAY,  
*Advocate-General.*

O.C., 1784. 5th July, No. 22.

TO EDWARD WHEELER, ESQ. AND MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL, ETC.  
CALCUTTA,

HON'BLE SIR & SIRS,

21st June, 1784.

The heavy calamity which has befallen to the ship *St. Antonio-de Brige*, on which I embarked with 19 soldiers, as a guard to the property on board, consisting of about 500



pipes of Madeira wine, and cargo of cotton for this Settlement from Bombay, being totally lost at Gosper bank in this river, together with upwards of 40 Europeans, and of my small corps remains now only seven privates.

This misfortune compels me to hope the Hon'ble Board will be pleased to consider our unfortunate situation and order us some relief.

I have, etc.,

ANTONIO FRAR OLIVER,  
CORLINO VENINTE

1783, O.C., 18th August, No. 2.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

DON FREDERICO GUILLAUME DE SOUZA,  
CAPTAIN GENERAL OF GOA, ETC.

FORT WILLIAM,  
18th August 1783.

SIR,

We have been honored by the receipt of a letter from you enclosing the representations of the owner of the ships *St. Maria Mayor* and *St. Antonio* and *Aimas*, with several papers and documents, which, being very voluminous and requiring to be translated before we can take them into consideration we can only acknowledge the receipt of them now and assure you that we shall give every attention to them which the subject may demand as soon as they come completely before us.

We can venture also to assure you that the parties have already obtained complete redress from the Judicature of this place, and you will be satisfied of the assistance and support which we have given them in the prosecution of their claims by a reference to the enclosed papers, which contain our proceedings on this subject, in consequence of letters which we received from the Governor and Council of Macao.

We have, etc.

(Unsigned draft of letter of Governor-General and Council.)











DEBRIS OF THE FRENCH GOVERNOR'S PALACE AT GYRHETI.

*(Photo. by R. L. Mueser.)*



RUINS OF DANISH FACTORY AT DANEMARDANGA,  
S. OF CHANDERNAGORE.

*(Photo. by R. L. Mueser.)*



# The Chandernagore Papers.

## SELECTION No. IV.

### I. NICHOLAS DE CALNOIS.



NICHOLAS DE CALNOIS and his brother Nicholas de Merliere were the sons of old Mr. Nicholas. Nicholas de Calnois was the husband of Marie Anne François Xavier Verlée, the eldest daughter (born 5th July 1746) of Pierre Jean Verlée. She was thus half-sister to the famous Noel Catherine, and after the fateful night of 1778, it was Nicholas de Calnois and his wife who were sent for from Chandernagore by G. F. Grand to take charge of his disgraced child wife.

120.

1778, O.C., 24th August, No. 9.

TO THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL AT CALCUTTA.

CHANDERNAGORE,  
The 5th August 1778.

SIR,

I had the Honor to write you the 13th of July last and in my quality, heretofore, of *Ordonnateur* of the French Settlements in Bengal, required from you that the papers of account locked up in the Magazine, which interest those in the service of His Most Christian Majesty and several others of his subjects, might be returned to me, to enable me to cause them to be paid hereafter what might be due to them. Hitherto, Sir, I have received no answer from you on this subject. I have room to believe that your occupations have occasioned this delay, and that I shall be more fortunate this time, the Chiefs of what nation soever owing certain attentions to each other.

I claimed also by that letter the Notarial Papers and those of the Register concerning the different affairs of the French individuals who have resided at Chandernagore or who still reside there. I have also to observe to you, Sir, that it is not possible for them to settle those which may arise between, at this juncture, on account of the total suspension of Justice occasioned by the capture of this place. In consequence whereof I cannot, as President of the Council which was established here, dispense with requesting you to permit the public officers to continue their functions in the actions which individuals may have occasion to bring before them for settling amicably their affairs. There were two persons employed in this busyness, but they might be reduced to one, and Mr. Calnois who was the Register of the Council would alone perform the functions of Register and Notary to, receive and pass the agreements and conventions of individuals. Lieutenant-Colonel Dow is to write you in



his Favour. I flatter myself, Sir, that the demands which I make of you will meet with no difficulties, inasmuch as I should not make them if I did not think well founded.

I have the Honor, etc.,

(Signed) DESCROCHES DE ST. CROIX.

A true translation from the Original.

A. L. GILBERT,

*French Translator.*

121.

1778, O.C., 2nd September, G (1).

CHANDERNAGORE,

*The 17th August 1778.*

SIR,

I have seen with the greatest concern that the choice which you have made of Mr. Nicholas de Calnois for exercising the functions of Notary in the Colony of Chandernagore which had been entrusted to me before its capture. The loss of my appointment has been the more sensibly felt by me as it constituted the whole resource of subsistence and support of my family and of my wife's father, who is of an age too advanced to gain his livelihood. The satisfaction which the public received from my services did not seem to promise such an event, and I thought I had so much the less reason to fear seeing my means of subsistence taken from me by Mr. Nicolas de Calnois as he is certainly in condition to dispense with the advantages attached to my appointment and as those which he draws from his Registership, joined to the subsistence which he receives in quality of Register, are more than sufficient to constitute his welfare. I nevertheless find myself deprived, by his nomination to my place, of the only means I had of subsisting myself and family and consequently threatened with the most dreadful want.

You thought perhaps that the duties of Notary and those of Register were nearly the same, and that is perhaps what has determined you to unite them in the same person, but they are quite different, and our Government had even ordered from the year 1769 to entrust them to two different persons, which had been observed. This proves that these two places ought not to be united.

If you would be kind enough to restore to me my appointment and to authorise me to continue the functions of it, you would succour an unfortunate man, without doing prejudice to any one, since Mr. Nicolas de Calnois is certainly very well in a situation to dispense with it.

The Equity which reigns in all the arrangements which you have made in the colony of Chandernagore, and the generosity with which you treat all its inhabitants, gives me every room to hope that you will grant me a request in which there is nothing but justice and commiseration.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) LE CONTE DE MARYE.

A true translation from the Original.

A. L. GILBERT,

*French Translator.*



122

1778, O.C., 16th November, No. 22.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND PRESIDENT OF SUPREME COUNCIL.

CHANDERNAGORE,

27th September 1778.

HON'BLE SIR,

Monsr. Le Conte has delivered me the orders of the Hon'ble Board, signified by the Secretary's letter of the 2nd Inst, directing that the said Monsr. Le Conte be allowed to act as Notary Publick in the room of Mr. Calnois, and to exercise the functions of that station in the same manner as before the capture of Chandernagore. I have, therefore, placed him in full possession of his office.

I also, at the earnest request of Monsier Calnois, enclose a Copy of his commission as Greffier, with an extract of the different acts appertaining to that Office, and request to know if it is the pleasure of the Hon'ble Board to continue him in the Exercise of them.

The Hon'ble Board were also pleased to signify to me, by their Secretary's letter of the 2nd Inst, that they had claimed of Monsr. Chevallier the performance of his engagement, made in a Parole given to Mr. Eliot at Cuttac to repair to Calcutta and receive the conditions, which the Hon'ble Board might be pleased to grant to French prisoners of War, but that in the meantime they left it in his option to determine on the alternative of taking his passage to England by the first ship, which might sail for that place, and in case of his consenting to this measure, which would be notified to me, he was to be allowed to remain at Ghzyretta till the 1st of October; and that he was then to be required to come down to Calcutta. As that time approaches, and I have not yet had the honor to receive any directions concerning him, I take the liberty to request the favor of your commands regarding him, and am, etc.

P. GRANT, Captain,  
*Commanding.*

123

O.C. 1779, 13th March, No. 3.

TO WILLIAM BURRER, ESQ.,

ACTING SECRETARY TO THE COUNCIL.

CHANDERNAGORE,

20th February 1779.

SIR,

I am favored with your letter of the 18th Instant, informing me of the Board's permission for Messrs. Chambon, Calnois, and de la Merliere to remain in Bengal.

I did myself the honor to address Mr. Auriol on the 17th Instant, requesting to be informed of the destination of the other inhabitants of Chandernagore who presented memorials, but are refused permission to remain in the country. These people are very



anxious to know their fate, that they may hold themselves in readiness to comply with such further orders as the Hon'ble Board may be pleased to give concerning them.

I have, etc.,  
P. GRANT,  
*Captain Commanding.*

124

O.C. 1779, 1st November, No. 4.

CHANDERNAGORE,  
26th October 1779.

GENTLEMEN,

Forced by the death of Mr. LeComte Desmarets, Notary of Chandernagore and by the desire of the inhabitants of this Colony, to take upon me the charge of the Notarial papers, I have not been able to find any sufficient excuses to alledge for dispensing to continue the function of this public office, an employment of delicacy, as the fortunes of individuals often depends thereon. I shall only take the liberty of representing to you, Gentlemen, that these papers are very numerous, that their preservation is of the utmost importance for the security of a great number of families and for foreigners who have had affairs in this form since the retaking possession of it. Moreover as it is said they are much out of order, I should require a considerable house to place them in the state which is requisite for such essential papers. I shall not neglect them, but this will require a constant labour and residence on the spot. Permit me to tell you, Gentlemen, that whatever desire I may have to render myself useful, I do not think it just that I should take upon me such assiduous cares without some advantage. I shall be obliged to hire a house to lodge the papers in, or be considerably streightened for room in my own house.

I have already several times performed the functions of this charge. I have complied with the desires of my fellow citizens, when I was authorised by superior orders; those which were given me by Messrs. Dow and Grant, at the immediate requests of the inhabitants of the Colony, prove what I have advanced. I am not ignorant of the heavy complaints made by Mr. LeComte Desmarets. He endeavoured to turn into ridicule the orders from which I acted; advancing that I had in view to do him a prejudice. His death does not permit me any longer to disclose the motives, which guided me. The pressing solicitations of his widow and of the citizens of Chandernagore destroy these bold assertions. Deign, Gentlemen, to consider my representations and the situation in which we are in. I dare hope from your equity, that in confirming the orders which I have just received from Mr. Collings, you will be pleased to allow such a salary as will encourage me to perform this office with the exactness it deserves. Knowing your generosity, I venture to say that my gratitude will never equal it.

I have, etc.,  
NICOLAS DE CALNOIS.

125.

1781, O.C., 13th March, No. A.

In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one, the Ninth Day of March, being in my Closet, W. Guthrie, an Officer of the Battalion of the English Sepoys in Garrison in this Colony of Chandernagore, came into my House, and said to my servant that I was to call upon Captain Chatfield, the Commanding Officer, and a moment after went away before



I could have any explanation from him. About an hour afterwards another Officer, whose name is, as I believe, Fontingam, came to signify the same order to me, I answered him that I had no Doubt that the intention of the Order was to seize me, and to carry me to the Gaol with the Rest of the Frenchmen to Calcutta; and I requested the favor of him to inform Captain Chatfield that I was not a rebel, but that, all the public papers belonging to the Officers of Register and Notary being entrusted to my charge and which I could not abandon, it was out of my power to obey the order. However that he could take me away by force, if he thought proper and had any such Directions. Upon which the officer withdrew. Soon afterwards the European Sergeant-Major of the Battalion brought me the same order, and received the same reply from me. As I had every reason to believe that they will come to some extremity, I have prepared the Verbal Process by which I protest against whatever Person or Persons it may concern for all the violences that may be used against me. I declare them answerable for all the public Papers of the Register and Notary's Office, which have been entrusted to my charge as well by my own nation as by the Supreme Council of Calcutta, also for the Registers, Minutes, Acts, public and private Bills public and private accounts, and other Deeds, paper and money and whatever else is under my Charge both in my own House and in several other private Houses. It being absolutely impossible to me to do any thing else than this Protest at the present juncture when it appears to me that no Regard is paid to the Laws, Usages, and Customs of Nations, and in order to make this Act as authentic as circumstances cannot permit, I have requested the Subscribing Gentlemen to sign it with me. In Truth whereof I have made this Verbal Process, and Protest at Chandernagore the said day and year.

NICOLAS DE CALNOIS,  
*Greffier & Notaire.*

(Signed) T. NICOLAS.  
DE ROCHE.  
NICOLAS DE GIVONNE.  
DURAND.  
DE LAVAL.  
DE LA COUR.  
DE FOLMIMIHAC.  
SALSON MESSIS  
CAMPAGNAC.  
L. SEIGNEU

116

1781, O.C., 3th April, No. 31.

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL,  
CALCUTTA.

CHANDERNAGORE,  
11th February 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

I am charged with a letter of Attorney on the part of my nephew Monsr. A. Carvalho, to recover from the Registry of Chandernagore, the sum of fourteen or fifteen thousand rupees



which were deposited there by virtue of an order of the Supreme Council of Pondicherry dated 10th July 1776, and which was made the 8th August following.

The said order signifies that this sum shall remain deposited in the said Registry until Monsr. Carvalho produces sufficient titles for the recovery of it bearing the said titles and being possessed of every requisite form. I have made my demand to Monsr. Nicolas de Calnois, the Register at Chandernagore, who replied, that charged with this deposit by an order, it was necessary to have another order to authorise him to return it and for these two years past I have not been able to obtain any thing else from him.

This reply, gentlemen, is the more astonishing as this deposit was only made at the request of Mr. Devrionne in whose hands this sum was, who finding the titles of which I am possessed very regular, not only made no objection to Mr. Calnois delivering it up to me, but even thought it very just and right he should do so. Every deposit has always been at the disposal of the depositor, and I cannot conceive what can be Mr. Calnois' motive for returning it, when those who are concerned want to withdraw it.

I am afraid, Gentlemen, I shall make you lose time by a more circumstantial detail of this affair. I beg you will authorise Mr. Molony, commissary, to take cognisance of it and to make his report to you. If he finds my demands to be just please to order Mr. Calnois, to give up the said deposit on my receipt for the same which I am authorised to give by my power of attorney.

I am, with respect,

Gentlemen,

Your very humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) J. DELARAT.

*A true translation.*

127.

1781, O.C., 21st May, No. 50.

To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC.,

MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

CHANDERNAGORE,

19th April 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

We have the honor to inform you that in reply to the intimation which we advised you in our letter of the 7th instant of our having given to M. Calnois, he has refused to give any account whatever, referring us to him or those who have charge of the papers and offices. We presume he means you, Gentlemen, as constituting this government, and therefore request to be honoured with your further commands. In the meantime, that no opportunity should be lost of getting what accounts we can from the individuals themselves whose concern are or ought to be in M. Calnois' offices, we have thought prudent to issue a notification of our requisition to M. Calnois by your orders, and his refusal. One of these publications we had sent to the Government of Chinsurah to whom or to which Government M. Calnois had delivered or sent in a protest similar to one which we understand from Captain Chaffield, the commandant here, has been forwarded by him to your Board. We beg leave further to remark that M. Calnois in his letter to us mention the Greffe or Register having been broke open two



days after the capture of Chandernagore, on which occasion he took the necessary measures to exculpate himself in the eyes of his superiors. From this we conceive that he means to set forth (indeed his letter says he has done as much) that there were several things lost out of the Register office at that time. We hope and beg leave to request, gentlemen, that if we should be ordered to take an account of the papers &c., in M. Calnois' house, and all other places where there may be any deposited, that you will be pleased to direct some of the gentlemen of character of the French nation who are indulged with the permission to remain in Bengal, to attend with us at the forming of the inventory, for in case M. Calnois should not come up here, or that you should not deem it proper to send him up here and oblige him to give account, we cannot be too circumspect in the mode of conducting a commission of the kind entrusted to us. For as Englishmen, to be solely employed in examining and taking an inventory of such a number of various and old papers which relate to foreigners who have either quitted or been sent out of Bengal, we should be liable to imputations which the ever so unjust and unmerited, would nevertheless be very vexing and hurtful to us. We hope our apprehensions on this matter will appear founded on propriety, and beg leave to assure you, that we shall cheerfully fulfil to the best of our abilities this duty, which is so very necessary for the securing the property of so many individuals who for the most part have not the power of exerting their endeavours for themselves.

We have the honor to be with respect,  
Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen,  
Your most obedient and humble servants,  
T. D. CAMPBELL,  
A. MOLONY,  
Commissary.

175.

1781. O.C., 21st May, No. 49.

To  
THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR.,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC.,  
MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

CHANDERNAGORE,  
The 7th April 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

Having this day received a Letter from your acting Secretary Mr. Hay informing us of your having appointed and empowered us to demand and receive from M. Nicolas de Calnois, a closed account of his charge as Register at Chandernagore all the Papers belonging to his office, and the amount which is or ought to be in his hands, We have in consequence written to M. Nicolas de Calnois informing him of the authority vested in us, and requesting him to inform us immediately, when it will be agreeable and convenient to him to attend us on that business, as soon as we receive his reply we will do ourselves the honor to inform you and will make the necessary application for his being sent up here.

We have the honor to be with respect,  
Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen,  
Your most obedient servants,  
T. D. CAMPBELL,  
A. MOLONY.



129.

1781, O.C., 31st May, No. 2.

To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC., SUPREME COUNCIL,  
FORT WILLIAM.

ANILPORE,  
*The 24th May 1781*

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

As I have been unable to replace with Englishmen properly qualified, the two French who established and conducted my Indigo works at Campokur, I hope it will not be deemed improper that I solicit to be indulged with their temporary enlargement, for the purpose only of manufacturing the crop, now ready for a first cutting and which was sown before their confinement.

Mr. Nicolas the Elder offers his parole with theirs, and I can venture from their past good conduct and discretion, to be answerable for their grateful and implicit obedience to any Restriction you shall be pleased to lay them under, and for their return or appearance when called upon.

Your acquiescence will save me from a heavy loss, and I hope enable me to instruct British subjects to carry on the Works next season.

I am most respectfully,  
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,  
Your most obedient and humble servant,  
JOHN PRINSEP.

Their names are M. Fairie by Profession a Surgeon and Nicolas de la Merliere, youngest son of Mr. Nicholas, formerly of the Council at Chandernagore.

130.

1781, P.P. 187-191, O.C., 14th June, No. 23.

To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM

CHANDERNAGORE  
*8th June 1781.*

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

We have been honored with your commands of the 25th Ultimo directing us to take an inventory of the papers, etc., in the Register's office at this place in presence of four of the principal inhabitants here, and advising us that M. Calnois shall be put up under a Guard in order to give an account before such persons assembled.

We beg leave to represent to you that we do not think the sending M. Calnois up here under a guard to give an account can be of any means of our getting a voluntary and true account if any at all, for as he will conceive by the manner of being put up here that it is merely to get the accounts of his office, and then to return him to the prison, he will adhere to



his first mode of referring us to him or those who have possession of the papers. (Meaning this Government). In which case as it is, not merely the papers in M. Calnois' House which ought to be secured, but many others of consequence to private families which are lodged in different houses about the Town, and only known to M. Calnois, we beg leave to offer as our opinion that it would be better M. Calnois should be allowed to come up here, that when he arrives, the four Gentlemen whom we may call upon to attend, may be present to hear and see him acknowledge the receipt of papers, etc., of his office without any loss since his absence. This will at once set aside the protest he has delivered in, and will leave the Government to act hereafter as it may seem proper.

From conversations which have at different times passed, we conceive that the inhabitants if left to their choice for a Greffier and Notary, they will chuse Mr. Calnois in preference to any other person in the settlement as it is the general opinion that there is not any one among them equally capable of conducting the business as Mr. Calnois.

The want of a public officer of this kind appearing at present peculiarly inconvenient since the death of Monsr. Desgranges we beg leave at the request of the widow to represent to you the unhappy situation in which she finds herself being unable to examine into the state of the deceased's concerns. She has taken the precaution to have the doors, bureaux, &c., sealed up in presence of 3 or 4 French Gentlemen inhabitants of the place, in which state everything might remain untill the Hon'ble Board are pleased to point out in what manner she is to proceed. If the Greffier and Notary was here she could act agreeable to the French Customs which would prevent trouble to herself or children at any future period.

We have, etc.,  
T. A. D. CAMPBELL.  
A. MOLONY.

131.

1781, O. C., 25th June, No. 20.

CALCUTTA,  
25th June 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

Mr. Calnois, having in consequence of our intimation of your orders acquiesced to being removed on 24 hours notice from the prison to Chandernagore, we request the favor of you to order such a guard and such sort of conveyance as you may deem proper.

We have, etc.,  
T. D. CAMPBELL.  
A. MOLONY.

132.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC., MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL

AT FORT WILLIAM,  
CHANDERNAGORE,  
6th July 1781.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

In consequence of your last orders of the ultimo Mr. Calnois\* has been brought up here under a Guard, and four of the Principal Inhabitants of the Colony, viz., Messrs. De Bretel,

\* So in copy, but probably De St. Croix is the person referred to.



Chambon, Mille, and Asrean Pere have attended with me at Mr. Calnois' House where the Papers of the Greffe were lodged, after having fully explained your intentions that Monsr. Calnois should give in Inventories of all the Papers and Deposits of his Offices as Register and Notary, Mr. Calnois expressed his Inclination to comply in every Respect with your orders as far as lay in his Power, at the same time beg'd leave to offer the following Remarks :—

That with respect to every transaction of the Greffe from the Capture of Chandernagore to the present Period he would give in Inventories of all Papers, Deposits, etc., and even give up the Papers and Deposits to Mr. Molony and myself if required, but as to the Papers and Deposits which concerned the Greffe during the time of the French Government, he could not of his own free will give up charge of them as the tenure on which he held, and the Manner in which he was invested with that Office, were of such Natures as rendered it impossible for him to explain them to your or my Satisfaction, being so entirely different from anything practised by the English Government. However he would make a particular Inventory of everything as soon as possible, and would deliver it in to your Hon'ble Board, or any person or persons whom you might *choose* to appoint. That if that would not do, and you should still insist upon his giving them up, he could not withstand your authority and Power, but must submit to have them taken from him. At the same time he added that there was no Inventory of them in his Office, and that it would take an immense time to form one, which even when done could not be of any Service to our Government, as neither your authority or his own inclination could be sufficient for satisfying claims on Different Estates or Successions which remained unsettled. But with respect to the deposits even during the time of the French Government, such as Monsr. De Labat's and others that might be in the office and which might be demanded, he would satisfy the claimants by paying them the money, provided you should think proper to order him, after the answers he might give in to any claims or Representations. He informed me that the Reason of there being no Inventories of the Papers, etc., was owing to the Rooms wherein the Papers etc., of the Greffe were contained having been broke open, and wantonly thrown into Confusion, and partly destroyed at the taking of Chandernagore : that the truth of this assertion is well known to those who were here on Command at the time, to whom as well as to Monsr. De Corsh the French Commissary he represented the Matter. That the former as well as the latter being so fully convinced of the Fact would not hesitate to confirm his assertion should it be necessary, and that it is well known he received charge again of the Papers by the order of Monsr. De Corsh on condition to give an account only of such as he should find (without being Responsible for any others), rather than they should be entirely lost. That he does not mention this with a view to take any advantage of such confession\* for his Conduct ever since in being ready attend to satisfy any applications made to him willfully evince the Contrary, he only means to submit to your Consideration how impossible it is for him in a short time to furnish you with the Information you require. The above was the Subject of what passed in presence of the four above mentioned French Gentlemen and myself, at the Conclusion of which I applied to Captain Chatfield for leave to open the Doors of the Rooms in Mr. Calnois' House, which were under a Guard placed there from the time of Mr. Calnois' removal to the Prison for the Security of the Papers—when we opened the Doors and went into the Rooms we found all the Windows perfectly secured and without the appearance of having been opened, or anything touched, for the Rooms, Windows, Tables, Papers, etc., were

\* Text defaced.



covered with Cobwebs which we broke in passing from one part to the other. Mr. Calnois took a particular Survey of the Rooms, Papers, etc., and allowed and declared before the four Gentlemen and myself that he had found everything in the order he had left them, that he was ready to take charge of them again if the Hon'ble Board would permit him, or if not he would as soon as possible give an Inventory of them. This to me as well as to the four Gentlemen appear'd a Business which will take up a vast length of time. Indeed I really think that even Six months constant attendance without assistance would not be sufficient to perform it. There being such a Quantity of Papers in great Confusion, the Gentlemen therefore expressed a desire to give in their opinion in writing which I very gladly acquiesced in thinking it would be the best Voucher I could have for what they had seen and what had passed between us.

I had the pleasure to enclose you a copy of their opinion, to which I beg leave with submission to offer mine, which is, that, as Mr. Calnois by his acknowledgement of having found things in the state he left them, has set aside the Protest or Protests he may have given in, as the taking the Inventory would be an Endless and unnecessary undertaking so far as concerned the time of the French Government, and as the Colony suffer much from the want of a Public Officer as Greffier, and are Unanimously of Opinion that Mr. Calnois is the fittest person for the Duty, it would be better in every Respect that he be allowed to receive charge of the Papers and his Offices again. For it is not only the Papers, etc., of the Greffe but also those of the Notary's Office, and many other Papers, etc., which regard Successions to Estates of Individuals which are sealed up in Different Houses about the Town known to no other person but (torn in original) known cannot be of any use but (torn in original) who in case of having any enquiries to make concerning them would prefer making them from Mr. Calnois, he being better able to inform and assist them in a uniform manner should Litigations arise at any future Period.

I have been applied to again by the widow Madame Desgranges, who has represented her present situation as a very embarrassing one, praying that Your Hon'ble Board will authorize Mr. Calnois to take an account of and Register the Papers, etc., of her Deceased Husband's Estate, as they are still sealed up in the Rooms of the House and Exposed to the Depredations of White Ants, and liable to be hurt by the Dampness of the weather. Besides she does not know what to do, with Respect to satisfying Demands of Creditors or receiving the Amount of Claims on Debtors until the Forms of the Greffiers Office are over, This Instance and many others which could be mentioned tend to shew the distress the French Inhabitants are in for want of a Greffier. The Gentlemen whose attendance I required to be present, strongly urged me to Represent to you what people in General suffered. How much they wished for Mr. Calnois to be allowed to take Charge again, as being the only Person who could.

I hope to be honor'd with your Commands. If Inventories of the old Papers and Deposits in the Office antecedent to the Capture of Chandernagore must be taken it will require as I observed before an immense deal of time and Labor which does not appear necessary from Mr. Calnois acknowledging to have found all right, and promising to give in an Inventory as soon as one can be formed. At any rate, however, if it should not be agreeable to your Hon'ble Board to admit of Mr. Calnois retaking charge of, and performing the functions of his Offices. The Inhabitants who have daily occasion for the Services of such Public Officer pray you will nominate a Proper person to act.

Mr. Molony with whom I was nominated jointly in the above Commission, not being able to leave Calcutta at this time on Account of other Public Business requested that I



would take upon me to act until he should come in case of Mr. Calnois' arrival from Prison—which is the cause of my now addressing Your Hon'ble Board singly.

The honour to remain with the Greatest Respect,  
Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen,  
Your most obedient humble Servant,  
T. D. CAMPBELL.

133.

1781. P.P. 655-663. O.C., 20th July, No. 14.

In the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, this fourth day of July at nine o'clock in the morning, we De Bretel, Audebert, Chambon, Mille, and Arreau Pere, having been requested as Inhabitants of this colony of Chandernagore by Mr. Campbell's letter of the 25th instant to meet in the house of Mr. Nicholas de Calnois to be present at the inspection which he is to do jointly with Mr. Molony, Commissary appointed by the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council of Calcutta, to examine and verify all papers belonging to the office of Notary and Register of this country, which were in charge of Mr. Calnois by the Board's orders, before he was sent with the other French men in confinement at Calcutta, from which place he is now returned under a guard to this colony by order of the Supreme Council, that he may give the necessary Informations and Instructions. In consequence thereof we have called at the house of the said Mr. Calnois and have entered it in company with Mr. Calnois and Mr. Campbell authorised to act alone until Mr. Molony's return, and there we have seen a guard of sepoya placed by the Government's order to secure the house and particularly the papers. Desks, trunks and other effects contained in two rooms to the left hand, which were for these fourteen years the office of Mr. Calnois as Register, and as Notary from the time he was appointed to the charge of it by the Supreme Council of Calcutta after the death of Mr. Le Conte Desmarets, who when alive had all the papers belonging to the Notary office in the house of Mr. Tienera, his father-in-law, and where they are still deposited. We have accompanied Mr. Calnois and Mr. Campbell into the hall the said house, and wishing to see the state of the said two rooms, Mr. Campbell having obtained from Mr. Chatfield the Commandant permission to enter them, we went in with Messrs. Campbell and Calnois in presence of the Havaldar and of the Guard. In the first room the key of which was in the door and which was the place where Mr. Calnois used to write, situated at the west of the hall, the door and lock were in good order and untouched, not appearing to have been forced; the two windows to the south and west, which have Iron Bars, were well closed and the venetian windows opening at the outside were also found in the best order, as well as the doors, windows, and the venetian windows of the other room next to it. All this was acknowledged by Mr. Calnois himself, who has declared that all the Bureaus, Desks, Trunks, Tables, Drawers, &c., in both rooms were untouched and entire, without having suffered any fracture or alteration, all being in good and in the same order in which he had left them when he was taken to be sent to confinement in Calcutta.

Upon this Mr. Campbell having desired us to transmit to him our opinion and desire by writing, we comply with his request, and our opinion is, that having found in his presence the two rooms containing all the papers, Bureaus, Desks and trunks belonging to the register's office, as well as the papers belonging to the Notary's office, since Mr. Calnois had the charge of it, in a very good order, well-locked, and not appearing to have suffered any fracture or to have been forced, in short in the two rooms being in the same



order in which Mr. Calnois had left them, (as he has acknowledged), and this owing to the guard placed over them for the security of the public interests, that he said Mr. Calnois should be possessed again of the offices of register and Notary. If the gentlemen of the Supreme Council are pleased to reinstate him in the said offices, or he may act in them as before and take charge again of all the papers, as he had them before his confinement, with the restriction of making a general inventory if ordered by the Board, which will take up a considerable time.

With respect to the demand made to Mr. Calnois by Mr. Campbell to deliver to him the accounts of his offices, he answered him that he was ready to give all those belonging to his offices from the time of the arriving of the Chandernagore which is from the time of the English administration, and also to deliver all the paper and money from this time but with respect to those anterior to it and during the time of French administration, he humbly observed that he could not give any without running the risque of incurring the displeasure of his own nation, by giving up accounts, or delivering papers which might expose the interest of it, as he took charge of them by the orders of his business. Our opinion is that he is well founded in his representations on the subject. Mr. Calnois has however offered to give all the accounts of deposits, which belong to private properties, and settle their rights with the properties themselves. This appear just to us.

Considering the indispensable necessity of having contracts of marriage, wills, and other acts of similar a nature, of making inventories of the effects of the persons, deceased, which are of very great importance to the individuals of this colony, and to their families which may be in Europe, and observing that Mr. Calnois, who has long occupied those offices particularly that of Register, is the ablest person in the country to fill them. We beg that the gentlemen appointed Commissary will join us in the request, which we take the liberty to make, that the Supreme Council will be pleased to permit Mr. Calnois to do the duties of his offices in the same manner as he did before his confinement.

At Chandernagore the abovesaid day and year.

(Sd.) DE BRETEL,  
AUDEBERT CHAMBON.  
P. MILLE.  
ARREAU, *Proc.*

131

(783) F.P. 2471-2474, O.C., 30th June, No. 48.

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR.,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL

CHANDERNAGORE,  
*The 28th June 1783.*

SIR,

I have the honor to represent to you that 6 months of the salary allowed me by the Supreme Council are now actually due to me viz —500 Rupees per month for my office of Trustee General for this Colonie for the due execution under that title of those functions which were formerly exercised by the French officer under that of King's Solicitor & in virtue hereof attached to the court of Justice established at Chinsurrah as well for the French, as for the Dutch, & of which Mr. Chambers is president.

Permit me also to intimate to you that 250 Rs Per Month for the same space are also due to Mr. Nicolas de Calnois for his office of Notary in the same Court & to Mr. Lanniron



as Bailiff who executed the trust under another title at the rate of 20 Rupees per Month. These three the last of which of an under class were employed as necessary for the French jurisdiction.

I believe that the bills or orders for the last three months of the foregoing year have been sent in and signed and that they are now in the possession of Mr. Chambers to receive the amount that it may be afterwards disturbed to each as formerly.

With regard to the 6 months of this year which are expired in consideration of the removal of Mr. Chambers from the place of President, a new mode of issuing or making the payment was necessary & that may have occasioned the delays. I take the liberty of requesting that you will order such as you may think proper for the payment of the said nine months.

I am with respect, &c.,

(Signed) DE BRETEL.

II. LIST OF THE FRENCH INHABITANTS OF CHANDERNAGORE, SPECIFYING THEIR SITUATIONS IN LIFE, THOSE WHO ARE MARRIED OR SINGLE AND THOSE WHO HAVE CHILDREN.

Names		Years Old.	Wife.	Children.
Pere Francois ...	Curi Cupuchin who Officiates at the Parish Church, at which many hundreds of Christians attend exclusive of the French Inhabitants. He has been for many months extremely ill, and can now hardly go through the Duties of his Office ...	35 or 40	.....	.....
L'abbe Rousseau ...	Priest. Officiates at the above Church	35 or 40	...	.....
Culan ...	Lieutenant Col. from the Coast is in search of a Passage home ...	.....	...	.....
Nicholas ...	Senior Councillor in the French Service, has been 23 years in India, 41 years Married, has a wife 62 years old, very infirm who has never been out of the Country. Mr. Nicholas himself is also very infirm and is ...	66	W	...
Desgranges ...	Formerly Chief of Dacca, was Senior Merchant next to Council in the French Service. Has been 42 years in India, 27 years married. Has a Wife and 3 Children, Two in Europe and one a Daughter about 9 years old here. Mr. and Mrs. Desgranges are both infirm, and are persons of Respectable Characters and of Distinction here ...	65	W	C
De Bretel ...	Formerly a Councillor of Justice. Has been 13 or 14 years in India. Was considered as a Person of Rank and Family in Europe and is here regarded as a Respectable Character	67	.....	.....
Bruc ...	Formerly a Councillor, has been about 12 years in Bengal. Is very infirm. Lives at present at Chintsurah ...	50 or 60	...	.....



Names.	Years Old,	Wives.	Children.
De La Bat ... A Private Gentleman. Born in India. His father was many years ago Governor for the French Company. Is very infirm. His Character much respected ...	62 or 67	.....	.....
Nicholas de Calnola. Son of Monsr. Nicholas. Born in India, formerly Griffin or Notary Public. Is married and has 4 Children 2 of them Boys in Europe. The two others Girls at Chandernagore. He has Charge of Sundry Public Papers of the Notary's Offices of much Consequence to Individuals ...	35	W	C
Nicholas de la Melliere. Son of Monsr. Nicholas. Born in India. Formerly in the French Company's Employ. Is married but has no Children. This Gentleman has for some time been engaged in an Indigo Manufactory at Campa-coor near Ghyrenty, which at great Expence and trouble is nearly completed. It is already so far compleat as to have proved of great utility in making of Indigo. The undertaking seems to be very great and (to those who have seen the Industry of it) highly meritorious ...	31	W	.....
Chambon ... Formerly Senior Merchant. Has been 30 years in India. Married about 27 years. Has 4 or 5 Children, the Major part of them in Europe. His Wife was born in this Country and has never been out of it. He himself is of a very respectable character, and rather infirm ...	50 or 55	W	C
Deverlines ... Formerly employed as <i>Procureur de Roy</i> . Has been 25 or 30 years in India. Married between 10 and 12 years. Has his Wife and 4 Children with him. He has, together with his Uncle Monsr. De la Batx, been endeavouring to get a Passage on some of the Foreign ships, in consequence of the order of Government, but has been answered by the Dutch and Danes that it is impossible for for them to afford them Passages the Ships being all taken up ...	40 or 45	W	C
Fournier ... Born in India. Now living in the greatest misery. Always shut up in his House, receiving visits from no person, either Friend or Doctor even to give him Medicine tho' Sick ...	about 35	.....	.....
Bedos ... Formerly a Senior Merchant. Has been 12 or 14 years in India. His Wife and Children in Europe. Himself very infirm ...	50 or 60	W	C



Names.		Years Old.	Wife.	Children.
Aurcan, Sénr. ...	A Merchant has been 12 or 14 years in India of a very respectable Character. His Son with him ...	55 or 60	.....	.....
Aurcan, Junr. ...	The Son of Monsr. Aurcan abovementioned living with his Father ...	about 20	.....	.....
Des Marchais ...	Merchant. Has been 10 or 12 years in India. Married but no children ...	40 or 45	W	.....
Verile ...	Formerly Master Attendant (in Capitaine de Port). Has been 41 years in India. Has a Wife and a Son between 15 and 18 years old in Europe. Is at present at Balasore ...	50 or 55	.....	.....
Calvé ...	Capitaine of the India Ships. Has been about 12 or 15 years in India. Married and has 5 or 6 Children of whom a Boy and 3 Girls are here ...	35 or 40	W	C
Aussant ...	Formerly employed by the Company. Has been 25 years in India. Married, but no Children. His wife in Europe ...	30 or 35	.....	.....
Le Seigneur ...	Formerly employed by the Company. Has been 25 or 30 years in India. Married, but no Children ...	40 or 45	W	.....
Le Pellitier ...	Captain of a Ship. Living with Monsr. Aurcan, Sénr. ...	30 or 35		
De la Cour ...	Econome of the Hospital. Has been 12 or 15 years in India. Married, but no Children ...	40 or 45	W	.....
Mille ...	Surgeon-Major. Has been about 12 years in India. Of a very good Character (Passage torn in original) ...	45 or 50	.....	.....
Serron Messia ...	Second-Surgeon. Has been about 12 or 14 years in India ...	30 or 35	.....	.....
Fairie ...	Surgeon. Married, but no Children. His Wife very ill, at the point of Death. Is concerned in $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Indigo Manufactory aforementioned, of which he is the principal Manager. ...	32 or 33	W	.....
De Solminiac ...	Officer of a Ship. Born in India. Married and 2 young Children ...	30	W	C
Fouquet de Champligny.	Born in India ...	about 30	.....	.....
Laval ...	Merchant. Born at the Islands. Many years in India. Of a very good Character and behaviour. Much esteemed ...	30 or 35	.....	.....
Giblot ...	Born at the Islands ...	25 or 30	.....	.....
Compagnac ...	Has been about 12 years in India ...	30 or 35	.....	.....
Maccaffry ...	Formerly in Employ. Born in India at Chintsurah. His Father an Irishman in the Dutch Service. Married, but no Children ...	25 or 30	.....	W
Pelon ...	Has been about 7 or 8 years in India. ...	25 or 30	.....	.....
Desroches ...	Has been about 6 years in India ...	20 or 25	.....	.....
Padet ...	Formerly an Officer of a Ship. Has been 15 or 20 years in India. Employed in the Indigo Manufactory. Married and a Child at Nurse ...	25 or 30	W	C



Names.		Years Old.	Wife.	Children.
Dupare	} Prisoners who were sent round from Madras ...	.....	.....	.....
Dumoulin		.....	.....	.....
Delmas		20 or 25	.....	.....
Sacray	... Lieut. of a Vessel. Has been 25 or 30 years in India. Infirm and has many wounds ...	50 or 55	.....	.....
Paget	... Pilot. Has been 20 years in India. Has a Child ...	30 or 35	.....	C
Favler	... Head Pilot. 20 years in India. Has 2 young Children ...	35 or 40	.....	C
Le Roy	... Pilot. Married. Has a Child of (illegible) or 2 years old. 8 or 10 years in India ...	25	.....	C
David	... Sugar Baker or Confectioner. 8 or 10 years in India. Married. His Wife and Child and Wife's Sister with him ...	40 or 45	W	C
Strothes	... Born in India. His father either an Irishman or an Englishman ...	25 or 28	.....	.....
Cherbonneau	... Servant of the <i>Bots du Ganges</i> (Tide Water I believe) ...	.....	.....	.....
Le Gol	... Do. (now employed in the Indigo Manufactory) ...	about 30	.....	.....
Chenneau	... Do. ...	.....	.....	.....
Ducros	... Do. ...	.....	.....	.....
Pellitier	... Do. ...	.....	.....	.....
Kergus	... Do. ...	.....	.....	.....
Manique Vire	... Born in India. Has a Wife and 6 Children. No acquaintance or Relation in Europe. Never been in any other Country but Bengal where himself and family have always subsisted ...	38 or 40	W	C
Seblud	... Formerly a Tavern Keeper. Married ...	40 or 45	W	.....
Bonneau	... Living with or in the Employ of the Dutch in the Indigo Manufactory. Married ...	25 or 30	W	.....
Chaulet	... Formerly Pilot for the Company's Vessels. Now at Serampore ...	40 or 45	.....	.....
Bouquet	... Musick Master. Married, but no Children. Now at Chintsurah ...	30 or 35	W	.....
Lehimas	... Came from Europe, in 1764, 1772 and 1773 as a Servant. Now a Shop-keeper. Married, but no children ...	30 or 35	W	.....
Joseph Jeannot	... La Fortune Employed at the Indigo Manufactory ...	30 or 35	.....	.....
Compoint	... Writer to Monsr. De Verrines. Married, a wife and 3 or 4 children ...	40 or 45	W	C
Fromont	... Watchmaker. A very quiet harmless man. Married, has a child of 9 or 10 years old ...	30 or 35	W	C
Olivier Lanniron	... Formerly <i>Huissier</i> to the Council. A very infirm Old man, living in the greatest distress. Just makes Shift to crawl a short distance before his own Door. Has Children ...	70 or 80	.....	.....
	(Torn in original.)			
	at his own Expence, one of which he has provided for ...	45 or 50	.....	.....
Reo	... ..	35 or 40	.....	.....



Names		Years Old.	Wife.	Children.
Freicht alias Jacol	A German. Formerly Gardiner at Ghyretty ...	45 or 50	.....	.....
Jean Gallois	Extremely aged and an Invalid ...			
Guillard	An Invalid. Covered with Wounds ...			
Verron	Formerly belonging to a Ship ...			
St. Paire	Formerly a Sailor. An Invalid ...			
Texeira	A very old man. A Portuguese by birth, very infirm. Has a Daughter, a widow who lives with him, both in distress ...	73 or 74	.....	.....
Motel	Formerly employed by the Company. In a very miserable Condition, at intervals out of his senses ...	35 or 40	.....	.....
Morel	Married ...	30 or 35	W	.....
Berthouge	At Serampore ...	about 30	...	.....
Nicholas de Givonnis Gon.	Son and Nephew of Monsr. Nicolas. Came round from Pondicherry with the leave of Mr. Rumbold the Governor there and with the Consent of the Governor-General to live with their Relations here ...			
Herigoyen	...	.....	.....	.....
L. Elant	...			
Demoulin	...			
Duplessis (2 Brothers)	Sons of Europeans. Born on the Coast and in Bengal of Native or Black Mothers ...	.....	.....	.....
Ernest	...			
Durand	Senior Merchant. Married, a wife and 2 children ...	48	W	C
Haubert	Married. Wife and children ...	.....	.....	.....
Pano	In Council now at Patna ...	.....	.....	.....
Renault	Widow of Monsr. Renault. Formerly Governor of this Place. Born in this Country. Very aged and very infirm. Lives on the Fortune left her by her husband ...	.....	.....	.....
Saufray	Her Husband in Europe, very aged ...	.....	.....	.....
Ranly	Widow, with a family. Very industrious to provide for the Same, a widow Daughter and a Daughter unmarried living with her ...	.....	.....	.....
Vandore	Daughter of Mde. Ranly—a Widow. Living with her mother ...	.....	.....	.....
Ferha	Widow. Having a Daughter here with her of 9 or 10 years old, and another in Europe. In great distress ...	.....	.....	.....
Mabile	Widow. In great distress until relieved by the Benificence of the English Government. Takes care of a young child as well as Circumstances will admit of ...	.....	.....	.....
Le Chesneye	Widow. Has a Daughter of 5 or 7 years old ...	.....	.....	.....
Challiet	Her Circumstances very bad, her Husband having gone to Europe on a Dutch Ship before the Mast, not having wherewithal to pay his Passage ...	.....	.....	.....
Carlton	Her husband in Europe ...	.....	.....	.....
Bonneton	Her husband in Europe ...	.....	.....	.....



## III. PETITIONS FROM THE LADIES OF CHANDERNAGORE.

136.

TO THE HON'BLE THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCILLORS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF  
ALL THE BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA, AT CALCUTTA.

CHANDERNAGORE,  
17th August 1778.

HON'BLE SIRs,

Mrs. Menès my mother, whose affairs I have the Honor to conduct, and whose only Resource for Subsistance has always consisted in the Rents of the Houses which she has in Chandernagore. That, in which Lieut. Coll. Dow lived during the stay which he made here, and now occupied by Capt. Grant, was lett heretofore by agreement with the Council of this Colony at 250 Rs P. month to serve as a Government House, and since to the Royal Administration at 150 Rs. and very lately at 100 Arcot Rupees, and That when Mr. Hodgson lives and in which Mr. Dow kept his Horses as likewise those of the Gentlemen of the Regiment, was a little before the Capture of the Colony also Lett at 100 Arcot Rupees P. month for three years to Messrs. Lucas and Arreau Merchants of this Colony; these two objects furnished a subsistance to Mrs. Menès and a Part of her Family; but now that the Royal Administration of this Colony being annihilated can no longer pay the Rents of Governments, and that Mr. Hodgson's living in the other House prevents Mrs. Menès from Letting it; She would necessarily come to the greatest want, if you are not kind enough to cause to be paid to her as soon as possible the Rents as well from the Day of the capture of this Colony, as from the Time to come.

The Residence of Mr. Dow in the Government House at Chandernagore, as in the other House mentioned hereabove, has occasioned considerable Damage to be done to them by the Servants and Horses of those Gentlemen; Doors have been cut to Pieces to make Fire, Bars, Bolts, window fastenings and Locks of Doors carried off, the Terraces of the Chambers beaten up by the Horses. In short a considerable Damage for which Mrs. Menès ought to be indemnified; She consequently hopes that you will be pleased to order the House to be repaired, or to be examined to form an Estimate of the Losses she has sustained and to order her to be reimbursed for them. The Equity of which the English Nation makes Profession and the Generosity which the Friend have hitherto experienced from their Conquerer does not permitt Mrs. Menès to doubt an Instant but you will render the Justice due to her demand and leave her inasmuch Safety as the State of want into which she is fallen, can admit of. She only waits the answer which your Justice may be pleased to give her in order to set an End to it.

Chandernagore Monday the 17th August 1778.

(Signed) FRANCIS MENÈS.

A true translation from the Original.

A. L. GILBERT,

*French Translator.*



137.

1779. O. C., 19th April, No. 21.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

CHANDERNAGORE,  
28th December 1778.

SIR,

The widow of Mr. Mabilie who has remained since the death of her husband, who was Notary at Chandernagore, in the most deplorable situation, maintained by the generosity of the French Government, who gave her a subsistence and lodgings in the apartments of the old Fort, having no other country than Chandernagore, entreats you will be pleased to continue her the same subsistence, which you granted to her and the lodging which she occupies in the old Fort. She will never cease offering up her prayers for the continuance of your health.

(Signed) DE LA FONTNELLE MABILLE.

138.

1779. O. C., 28th June, No. 13.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE GENTLEMEN OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL,

CHANDERNAGORE,  
The 20th June 1779.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

The two houses that Commandant Grant and Messrs. Hodgson and Hopkins occupy, in this Colony belonging to me, require some very urgent reparations, which have been already pray'd for. Permit me now to observe to you, that the rent of two hundred Rupees a month which you so kindly ordered me to receive for them, is not sufficient to defray the expence of repairing them, since the late capture hath rendered them in a ruined situation.

The disorder which generally follows the event of a capture, whatever discipline may be made to observe yet it will cause a dreadful waste as has happened to those two houses; the doors, the windows, the hinges, the Iron works, the Bars &c., have been carried away, and and the horses that were lodged in one of them without any sort of attention, has occasioned a considerable damage. I complained not at that time, as the terror that naturally seizes one who finds himself under the conqueror's mercy, had kept me silent, but the clemency and the equity you have now shewn through all proceedings in this colony emboldens me to make a representation on that subject.

The rent of one of the houses which served as Government-house in the time of the French, had been paid to me at the reestablishment of that nation in Bengal, at the rate of two hundred and fifty Arcot Rupees a month as was settled by Mr. Law's order, but it has been succinctly reduced by Mr. Chevalier to hundred and fifty and at last to a hundred per month. The Economy that the French Government put in all its operations, as well as some other reasons which it is unnecessary to expose here, had occasioned this immoderate diminution, which my circumstances had forced me to put up with: but at least they had the consideration to keep those houses in repairs, and not to suffer that they did not fall in ruins.



At this juncture an inevitable event has changed all, and I cannot without hurting myself considerably, undertake the reparations which those houses require since they are become more chargeable than they ought generally to be, by the reasons that I have had the honour of alledging to you above. I hope that your equitableness will suffer that those two houses be repaired at your Expence as it will cost you a great deal less than to me, since there are here in the ruins of the Old Fort, materials more than sufficient to do it, or else that you will be so good to restore the rent of that house that serves for the Commandant's Residence on the same footing it was on the reestablishment of the French in Bengal.

I further beg leave to observe on this subject, these two houses' rent, of two hundred Rupees a month, though so little, has been the reason that I have been refused, as well as my son, of that subsistence which was given to all the widows and Inhabitants of this Colony, believing that those two hundred Rupees were enough for my subsistence, and that of my family, and without considering their living burthen to me.

Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen you will have the glory to satisfy both justice and humanity which always leads one to support a poor Widow loaded with a numerous family such as myself in attending to my just cries, and supplying with my real want which act of your Commiseration I shall ever recommend in my prayers to God.

As I cannot write, I ordered my son to sign for me this my humble address which I have the honor of submitting to you, as it is my custom so to do in all my affairs.

I am, etc.,  
FRANCOIS MENES.

139.

CHANDERNAGORE,  
1st December 1779.

GENTLEMEN,

Maria Teixeira, Widow of the Count Demarest formerly Notary at Chandernagore has the Honor to address herself to you to acquaint you with her apprehensions in the critical situation to which she is reduced.

On the decease of her Husband which happened on the 11th. October last, she was obliged to have the seals affixed to every thing that belonged to her and the demand and make an Inventory to establish her rights and the well being of her Son, a minor; to this effect she called on Mr. Nicolas de Calnois, the only Public Officer at present, who having fulfilled these primary duties and began the Inventory, wanted to set about the Public papers that were found in the closet of her late Husband and pretended even after the separation of all those that concerned the deceased to see in preference (to contribute to the quicker discharge of the widow) that of the said Public Papers accomplished.

On asking him who would support the Expence of such a work he replied that all the said Papers being found at the deceased's house it would be at the charge of the Successor.

The state of distress in which your Petitioner is placed by the little esource she has in the effects of her Husband who is Insolvent, the privation of her property which has been clearly demonstrated to her to be little better than lost by the Defects and flaws that have been found in her marriage contract throws her into the greatest difficulties as she finds herself not only deprived of what she brought in marriage but obliged to sell to the last article of her effects to ansr. the expences of Justice which the Notary has notified to her must be executed at her charge.



The cause of her being at present exposed to this burthen is the necessity she was under to evacuate the office which contained the said Papers before ye capture of the place in order to make room for your troops since ye paper would still have remained there but for this unfortunate event to the Nation. Is it possible, Gentlemen, that such a circumstance must cause the entire destruction of a widow and her Infant Son? She cannot conceive that you would consent to reduce her to this state of distress, her existence as well as her Son's can only depend in future on the subsistence that she flatters herself you will grant her in consequence of the petition she had the Honor to present you the 21st October last, and which is but a moderate pittance to procure the necessaries of life.

She hopes then, Gentlemen, from your Generosity that, having regard to her Petition, you will either order the said Inventory to be made gratis, or allow the Notary (who says he is authorized to take charge of the Public Papers none other appearing to be appointed for this purpose) such sum as shall appear to you just and necessary for the discharge of the expences that are required for this Business which will certainly be considerable, and which will be secured to you if you provide for the reimbursement, of them hereafter from the French Nation as the heirs of the deceased wd. not have been obliged to support ye. charges of this duty if ye. public Papers had not been where they are now deposited.

Your petitioner expects a favourable answer to her request and flatter herself that she shall obtain it from the Humanity and Justice that regulates your Councils.

(Signed) TEIXEIRA WIDOW.  
LE CONTE DEMAREST.

140.

1780, O.C., 29th May, No. 48.

CHANDERNAGORE,  
30th December 1779.

GENTLEMEN,

Your natural goodness which has inclined you to grant a subsistence to widows and those ladies of Chandernagore who husbands are absent induces me to appeal to the same bounty to entreat that I may be permitted to enjoy the like favour of which I have been deprived ever since the month of February last. I conceive it should naturally be allowed me as my husband was in the King's service and was in consequence obliged to depart before it was possible for him to adjust his affairs and provide the subsistence of his wife and children. I do not want to trouble you with the particulars of my situation, flattering myself that the justice alone of my cause will have its full effect in a Tribunal abounding with equity as yours does. If you will vouchsafe to grant me this favour I shall incessantly offer my prayers to Heaven for your preservation.

(Signed) RANLY BONNETON.

141.

1781, P.C., 3th April, No. 32.

CHANDERNAGORE,  
22nd March 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

If it is permitted to the unfortunate to complain, who can have a great right to that unhappy and only resource than we? This reflection emboldens us to represent to you



the excess of grief with which we have been impressed, since our husbands have been forced from us, for no crime, or even trivial misdemeanour whatever. Our feelings are easier to be conceived than expressed! However, it is easy for generous or sensible minds to judge of our consternation, on finding ourselves separated from those, to whom we are attached by Laws human and Divine, of that which is most dear to us. In which our only consolation is from what we received and from whom alone we can expect to receive the necessary assistance to the support of ourselves and families. Such is our terrible situation which cannot fail of becoming more distressing by its continuation.

Delgn therefore, we beseech you, Gentlemen, to throw a favourable and compassionate eye on us, who are wives and mothers in affliction; Let our tears have influence on your hearts to excite your pity and compassion, that humanity may operate with you to restore the husbands to their wives, and fathers to their children. This we implore of you in the most earnest and pressing manner.

We have the honour to be, Gentleman,  
Your most obedient humble servants,  
VANQUYAN SEIGNEUR.  
LUCAS DE SOLMINIHAC.  
LE GOU NICOLAS DE MERLIERE.  
VERLE NICOLAS DE CALNOIS.  
DE LA TOUCHE.  
DESMARCHAIR.  
VOULEE DE LA COUR.  
MDE FAIRIE.  
G. PADET.  
DUNEGRAC.  
DURAND.  
DETOUCHE.  
DEVERINE.

LADIES AT  
CHANDERNAGORE

142.

1781, P.P. 107-108, O.C., 7th June, No. 27.

TO THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.

*April 15th, 1781.*

Angelique Menes wife of Mr. Jean Michell Chaillet formerly in the King's service at Chandernagore, has the honor of making her humble representation, saying, that her husband in obedience to the orders of the Supreme Council issued to all the French of this colony in March last year to leave Bengal, determined himself to go to Europe on a Dutch ship having a pass which the Hon'ble Governor-General was pleased to grant him in December last; and has left the humble petitioner with two children without any resource, and in the greatest distress. She had before a subsistence of 50 Rs. P. M. allowed to her by the Governor-General at the request of Mr. Bretel the Jemindar, who was acquainted with her situation, but she has been deprived of it since the departure of M. Collings the late Commissary, and now is reduced to the last extremity with her children. This has obliged her to take the liberty of representing her distress, and to claim from your humanity the continuance of the same charity for the subsistence of her children. She will have an everlasting gratitude.



143.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND SUPREME COUNCIL OF CALCUTTA.

4th July 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

Sensible and merciful souls possess a true happiness which nothing can alter. It is founded on Generosity which wishes no other reward than the Pleasure itself of doing good. What surer means, Gentlemen, to merit and obtain the Public Esteem, than the actual Exercise of that virtue? She is your favourite, and induces me to make you a description of the misfortunes which I have laboured under since the war by the confinement of my Husband. I have the honour to represent to you Gentlemen that since 22 years he is out of Europe, and was never since in the service of the King nor of the French Company. Trade was his object for these twelve years passed, he has contracted new engagements which must be abandoned, he has dispersed his money in the Aurungs, and during his Confinement I cannot get from the workmen a single Piece of Cloth, and should even the Goods be returned to me, I am not able to value them.

I have the honor to acquaint you that the whole of my Property consists in Houses and gardens which require considerable repairs, being fallen in Ruin by the absence of my Husband—Doors, Windows etc. of my Houses have been lately taken away, and the Authors of this Robbery have nothing to fear from a Woman without assistance and support.

I will not take up your time by a Detail of the numberless losses sustained by me since the Confinement of my Husband. You may perceive it well enough. I have only to mention to you that I am jointly with my Husband charged with many Estates, and with the care of providing for the wants of the Heirs who are partly here partly in Europe. Our resources are not great, their happiness depend on our Care of their Interests, and if we are not able to take it, the Consequence must be a certain ruin. All this could be prevented, should my Husband be released and permitted to transact his Business. Be so good, Gentlemen as to let yourselves be moved at my deplorable situation, having neither Father or Mother nor any other support but my Husband, for whom I implore your clemence, and solicit his release. You may be assured that he will make it his Duty to submit to the Orders which you will be pleased to give him.

I trust on the Goodness of your Heart, which is known to me by several acts of your Humanity and particularly by those which some of the French Prisoners have lately experienced. Be pleased to shew the Same Indulgence to me who shall never cease to pray for your Preservation, and has the Honor to be with the greatest respect, &c.

(Sd.) SIBENE.

144.

1782, 17th June, No. B.

CHANDERNAGORE,  
26th May 1782.

MESSIEURS,

J'ai l'honneur de vous représenter très respectueusement que je me trouve forcée d'avoir recours à vous pour faire, Messieurs, demande d'une somme de cent roubles par mois en augmentation de celle de cinquante que vous m'avez accordée, me trouvant dénuée de tout secours depuis la prise de Pondichery.



Mon mari, Chevalier de St. Louis, Capne d'Infanterie avec le brevet de major, a été pris a Pondichery, a été obligé d'aller en Europe avec Mr. Le Gouverneur Belcombe. Il ne me fut pas possible de le suivre, me trouvant enceinte de quelques mois avant la outre un enfant à la mamelle. Le me vis forcée de venir ici avec l'aggreement du Conseil du Madras, et aux fais de la Compagnie le défaut de fortune aux pertes que la guerre occasione naturellement, ne permit pas à mon mari de me laisser les fonds assés considerables pour pouvoir vivre et subsister déceimment depuis plus de trois ans purée des secours que mon mari à complé me faire passer comme deses nouvelles depuis si long temps. Le me vois aujourd'hui reduite à vivre, avec les cinquante roupies par mois que l'honorable Compagnie m'accorde, ce qui nest pas suffisant pour vivre avec deux enfants. J'ose esperer, Messieurs, que vous prendrés en consideration l'état ou je suis réduite que vos bontés me seront accorder les cent rupes qui je pourrai sustenter ma petite famille, qui, comme moi, sera remplie des sentiments de la plus vive reconnaissance.

Je suis, etc.,  
M<sup>ME</sup> DE CARRION.

145.

1782, O.C., 17th June, A.

MR. MALONY,  
*Commissionaire.*  
MONSIEUR,

CHANDERNAGORE,  
28th May 1782.

Permettes que je prenne la liberte de vous représenter qu'il ne m'est pas possible de vivre avec la modique subsistence qu'on me donne. Eù gard à la nombreux famille que j'ai. Dieu sait toutes les peines et chagrins que je souffre depuis un an qui j'ai eu le malheur de perdre mon epoux. Je vous prie de vouloir bien représenter ma desagreable situation au Conseille et m'obtenir une subsistance conforme à mon etat et ma famille. Vous obbigeris infiniment Celle qui l'honneur d'etre avec une parfaite estime.

Etc.  
LANG V(EUV)E,  
DESORANGES.

146.

1780, P.P. 453-454, O.C., 29th May, No. 46.

GENTLEMEN,

CHANDERNAGORE,  
21st October 1779.

The humble petition of Maria Texeira, widow of the Count Demarest, Notary at Chandernagore, Sheweth :—That having had the misfortune within these few days to lose her husband, who was the support of her family, she finds herself in the most miserable situation on account of the unfortunate circumstances that prevent her from receiving the little he left which is in various hands: Overwhelmed with grief and charged with the education of a son of 4 years and half old who also relies on your bounty, she hopes that you will have regard to the Petition she makes you to be allowed a subsistence. The obliging and generous dispositions you have to comfort the widow and orphans of this colony



persuades her that you will grant it in consideration of her distress in confidence of this she addresses herself to you and expects every thing from your clemency.

(Sd.) TEIKEIRA,  
*Widow of La Conte Demarest.*

147.

1782, O.C., 30th Sept. No. 17.

[No Date].

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRs,

As I cannot express myself in English, permit me to present to your Honor these few lines, and to beg to lay before you my deplorable situation:

My husband, my sister, and myself (a mother to six helpless children), finding ourselves without any resource, having through a series of misfortunes lost the little property we brought with us into this country, I have taken the liberty to address you, humbly requesting that you will alleviate our distresses by countenancing our humble petitions, which we have been addressed to leave with Mr. Auriol, your Secretary, that they may be presented before your Hon'ble Board.

My husband has been a prisoner ever since the capture of Chandernagore, but having at that time established a manufactory, in which we had the prospect of living decently we did not apply immediately for subsistence. The orders of your Hon'ble Board issued for confining the inhabitants of the settlement having put a stop to our business, we were obliged to fly to the Danish Settlement for fear of imprisonment, where we have lived till our feeble resources were entirely spent, and undergone great difficulties. What makes my situation still more deplorable is that my poor children must feel the utmost misery, if not assisted by the charitable and generous hand of the English Government, in which I place my whole confidence.

I have, etc.  
CHEVALIER DAVID.

148.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,  
(GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

CHANDERNAGORE,  
30th October 1782.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

Enclosed I have the Honor to forward you two Letters one from Madam Desgranges, the other from Domingo D'Costa, the first contains a repetition of her former request, the last is from a Portuguese employed by the French, before the capture of Chandernagore requiring to be placed upon the List for Subsistence.

Messrs. Laval and Companac have repeatedly requested that I would represent to your Hon'ble Board that they stand exactly in the same predicament as Monar. Giblot, to whom you have been pleased to grant arrears of subsistence by your Letter of the 13th May 1782, these Gentlemen upon the same plea beg to be granted the same indulgence.

I have, etc.,  
A. MALONY,  
*Commissary.*



149

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE GENTLEMEN OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

CHANDERNAGORE,

20th October 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

Lange Desgranges, the widow of the late Mr. J. B. Lemeste Desgranges, Chief of the French Factories, Dacca and Jugdea, submits to you that it is not possible for her to subsist on the Allowance of seventy Arcot Rupees, which has been granted to her only since last January, for which (torn in original) she had no more than an Allowance of A Rs. 50—and Allowance given to her in the month of July 1781 one month and two Days after the death of her Husband. She prays that you will be pleased to augment it. She requests a Subsistence for her Daughter who is about 11 years old and that pay the Balance due to her Husband, who received only a very moderate Allowance during 4 or 5 Months may be given to her, the Balance being calculated to accrue or a                      him from the time of his arrival from Jugdea. I venture to hope, Gentlemen, that you will not refuse me this Favor, since it is the more just that you should allow it to me as you have granted the same to those who have never either served the King or the Company. But with respect to my late Husband, he was in the Service of the Company near 30 years and was afterwards in                      of the King. You see Gentlemen by this                      that I have some Claim upon your Goodness. I hope to be benefited by it.

(Signed) LANGE VEUVE DESGRANGES.

150.

1783, O.C., 30th June, No. 54.

CHANDERNAGORE,

5th February 1783.

GENTLEMEN,

Mrs. Claire Splanger Daranka Widow of the late Mr. Peter Mathew Rensult of St. Germaine, formerly Director of the French Company at Chandernagore, has the honour to represent to you that since the capture of the Colonia by the English troops, she has received no allowance for subsistence that she does not find her name in the list of subsistances allowed and distributed to the inhabitants of Chandernagore since the month of January 1782, and that she is in consequence the only person deprived of the general benefit of this act of kindness. It is very true that she has never asked it nor taken any steps to obtain it, and would even still remain silent, and not importune you at present, gentlemen, on this subject, if she were not obliged by actual necessity to have recourse to your bounty and to your equity for the relief of the great distress to which she is actually reduced.

Since the decease of her late husband, your petitioner has insensibly expended all the means that she had left, and what she has to expect from the effects of her late husband left by him in France has not yet reached her, the hopes even of receiving the speedy succour from Europe which she has occasion for is entirely destroyed by the total interruption of all intercourse between France and Bengal. Wherefore your petitioner is threatened with



all the horrors of misery, from which she has no prospect of relief but in partaking with the other inhabitants of Chandernagore what you have been pleased to grant them.

This considered may it please you to grant your Petitioner a subsistence proportionate to her condition and to the rank of her late husband in this Colony, calculated from the period on which she was entitled to it. Be pleased to direct that the same be paid to her and further that it be entered on the general list of subsistances allowed to the inhabitants of Chandernagore, in justice to

THE WIDOW RENAULT.

151.

1783, O.C., 15th September, No. 47.

CHANDERNAGORE,  
17th July 1783.

GENTLEMEN,

Mrs. Genevieve Lange, widow of the late Mr. Desgranges, Chief of the Factories of Dacca and Jugdia, belonging to the French Nation, has the honor of addressing herself to you in hopes from your justice that you will be so obliging as to grant to her the arrears of the subsistence due to her late husband from the period of being made a prisoner and that the same may be paid to her conformable to what his rank would have entitled him to. The distressed situation of your Petitioner is such that the least assistance is of the greatest importance to her, encumbered with a large family and ruined by the loss of his appointments occasioned by the war and the inevitable losses attending it, and to complete it the death of her husband are considerations which she is persuaded will attract your attention, and that she shall in consequence experience the good effects of your justice.

I think the demand of M<sup>de</sup> Desgranges is just

(Signed) F. NICHOLAS.

2nd August 1783.

152.

1783, O.C., 18th September, No. 30.

CHANDANAGORE,  
21st August 1783.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I do myself the honor to enclose you a petition from Madam Le Conte which states that she is the widow of the late Notary Publick of Chandernagore: that she has been left in indigent circumstances and has not the means of educating her son, for which purpose she requests that you will be pleased to grant her twenty-five rupees per month, he says that three months' subsistence money has not been paid her, and requests that you will order payment thereof. In this she must allude to the period your Hon'ble Board thought proper to withdraw that indulgence from all the French at Chandernagore. Monsieurs Nicholas certifies the truth of the circumstances stated by Madam Le Conte.

The enclosure No. 2 is a petition from an Italian Missionary at Chandanagore stating that last war the missionaries of that Church were allowed by Government fifty rupees per month, that they have not received any subsistence during the present war and that they



with difficulty subsisted themselves before the war broke out upon the interest of some money paid into the French Treasury. They do not claim any specific sum, but depend upon the generosity of the Board. M. Nicholas certifies that the French Company paid them interest upon sums of money and deposited in the French Treasury.

No. 3 is a petition from Madame Rensault, whose husband was formerly Director of the French Company. She requests that you will grant her subsistence money suitable to the rank which her husband held, and that you will, in event of complying with her request, fix the period for which she is to draw that subsistence. She acknowledges that she never has made the claim before, and that poverty occasioned by the war has been the cause of her now doing it. Monsieur Nicholas subscribes to these facts as true what Madam Renault has stated.

I have, &c.

A. MOLONY,

*Commissary.*





## General Note-Book.



DEAR MR. FIRMINGER,—With reference to A. F. de C.'s note at p. 47 I send you herewith three photos of the place at Pir Pahar near Monghyr to which he refers. The house on the hill is Pir Pahar house (the saint's tomb is also on top of hill near the entrance gate). The house belongs to the Tagore family. At the foot of the steep hill on which this house is situated are the graves referred to by A. F. de C. One is to a Mr. D'Oyley, a planter, I believe, of the District. "Mary Ann Beckett" is usually said to be the "daughter" of the Colonel, or General, Beckett who lived in the Pir Pahar House, her mother having been a Kashmiri lady. The ground below this house stretching towards Monghyr is to be acquired for the large new Central Jail for habituals which is, I hope, shortly to be built here. The Pir Pahar House is just three miles from Monghyr railway station and can be seen by anyone wishing to visit the Seetakhoond mineral waters a couple of miles further on.

Yours sincerely,

W. J. BUCHANAN,

*Lieut.-Col., I.M.S.*

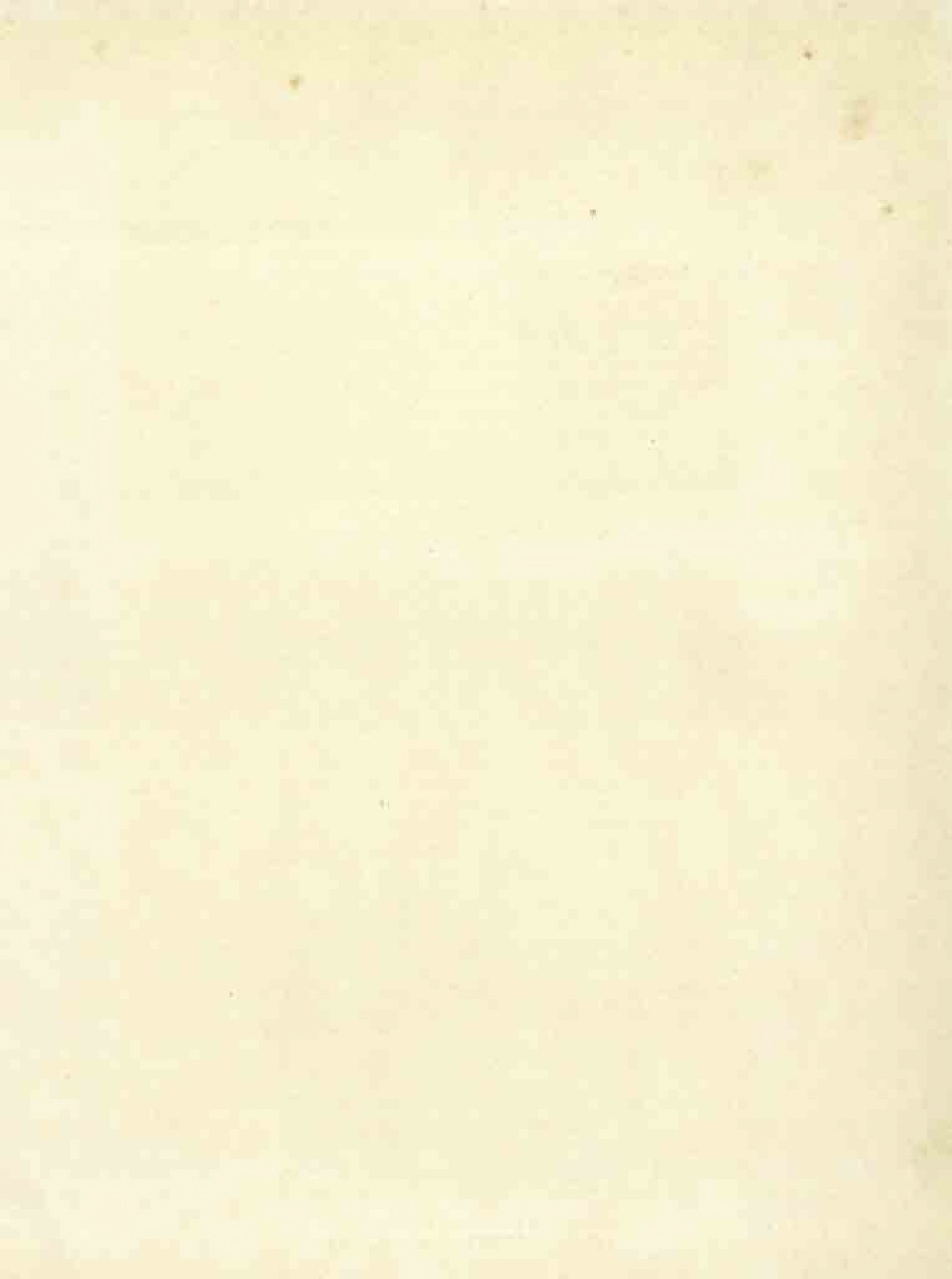
DEAR MR. EDITOR,—Since my article went to press I find I am mistaken in giving the name Ma Tuan lin as a pilgrim who visited Cock's-foot Mountain. Watters in his *Yuan Chwang* refers to "a pilgrim of the Sung dynasty," quoting from the work of Ma Tuan lin, on *Ancient Monuments* which was composed towards the middle of the 13th century. The last twenty-five chapters of this work were translated into French by the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys and published in Paris 1876 under the title "*Ethnographie des Peuples étrangers à la Chine*," a copy of which is in the Imperial Library. The date of the Sung dynasty is given in histories of China as 960 to 1127 there was also an earlier Sung dynasty 420 to 479. Trusting that you will be able to insert this letter in the same number of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

Gaya, 14th September 1910.

I am, yours sincerely,

A. W. KEITH.









VIEW OF BERHAMPORE.  
(From Colour-drawing by J. Moffat about 1805.)



PIR PANAH HOUSE NEAR MONGHYR.  
(Photo by Lt.-Col. W. J. Buchanan, I. M. S.)



IN an article entitled "Forgotten Graveyards" in a previous number of *Bengal: Past and Present*, I noted some recollections of burial grounds and epitaphs in various districts of Bengal in which I have from time to time served.

In April 1910, shortly before leaving India, I went across country from Bhairamara, on the Eastern Bengal State Railway, in Nadiya district, to Berhampur, the headquarters of Murshidabad district, a journey of somewhat over sixty miles, over roads which, at best, were very indifferent; halting for the night at Shikarpur and Dumkole factories.

Shikarpur factory was formerly the headquarters of the well-known indigo firm of J. and R. Watson. It was founded, and the house was built, in 1790. In this neighbourhood in 1830 was committed the murder of Richard Aimes or Amies,\* a European indigo planter, for which another planter, George Yonge, one of Watson's assistants, was tried in 1831, and acquitted; though several of the native servants of the factory were convicted, and received long sentences, for participation in the murder.

In the grounds of Shikarpur factory four graves are still to be seen with the following epitaphs:—

(1) Sacred to the memory of Willoughby Forbes, the darling child of Peter and Jane Horn, Obt. 18th May 1828, aged 1 year and 4 months.

(2) Sacred to the memory of Thomas Laidlay, Esq. Born 19th September 1809, died 27th February 1842.

(3) Sacred to the memory of Helen Elizabeth McKenzie, infant daughter of Munro and Louisa Innes, who departed this life on the 8th day of September 1847, aged 6 months and 22 days.

(4) A grave, from which the nameplate has disappeared. It is said to be the grave of a child of Mr. Bait, who was manager of Shikarpur factory from 1821 to 1831, so is probably the oldest of the four.

At Dumkole factory there are two graves as follows:—

(1) Sacred to the memory of Peter McArthur, who departed this life on the 22nd November 1863, aged 63 years. Erected by his affectionate sons, Alexander and John. [Alexander McArthur subsequently became Colonel A. McArthur, R.E., Chief Engineer of Bengal].

(2) A small grave, with no nameplate. It is that of a child of Mr. Rice, a former manager of the factory.

---

\* Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford has since sent us an article on this subject which will appear in our next issue.



My brother, Mr. M. M. Crawford, who is now manager of Shikarpur, told me that there were old graves at several other factories in the neighbourhood, as follows:—

- (i) Faridpur (Murshidabad District). Watson's first factory, now abandoned.
- (ii) Patkabari (Murshidabad District.)
- (iii) Mircha (Murshidabad District). Formerly called Akraganj.
- (iv) Myastali (Murshidabad District). Jangipur
- (v) Nurpur (Murshidabad District).
- (vi) Kantakobra (Murshidabad District.)
- (vii) Hairampur (Murshidabad District.)
- (viii) Sarda (Rajshahai District).
- (ix) Rajapur (Rajshahai District). The graves have been washed away by the Ganges.
- (x) Nischindapur (Nadiya District). A fairly large cemetery.
- (xi) Malnath (Nadiya District). Formerly head factory of the Bengal Indigo Company.
- (xii) Moheshkundi (Nadiya District.)

D. G. C.

THE writer of "Notes from Home" in the *Madras Mail* of the 26th September has the following interesting note on the subject of the Amyatts. The writer does not appear to have seen the Society's *Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna*.

#### THE FATE OF PETER AMYATT.

In my last Notes I referred to the interesting old mural tablet in Talaton Church, near Sidmouth, recording the fact that James Amyatt, M.P. for Southampton in the latter years of the eighteenth century, had married Maria Amyatt, widow of Peter Amyatt, second in Council in Calcutta at the time that Vansittart was Governor of Bengal. I have obtained some further information about this Amyatt family which, but for Clive's preference for Vansittart, would have furnished Bengal with a Governor. Peter Amyatt was chief of the English factory at Patna in 1759, only two years after the battle of Plassey. The historian Mill records that Peter was "a man of merit" who had some reason for being dissatisfied with the arrangement by which Vansittart was placed in the Chair of the Council, superseding Amyatt and some others, on Clive's departure to England. Presumably it was this circumstance that made Peter Amyatt Leader of the Opposition in the Calcutta Council in the troubled period of Mir Jaffer's and Mir Cassim's rule in Bengal. I have already noted that Amyatt and Hay were deputed by the Council to visit the Nawab Cassim at Monghir to persuade him to comply with the conditions for regulating internal trade, which a majority of the Council favoured. Mill states that Amyatt and Hay volunteered for the service, and that they departed from Calcutta on the 4th April, 1763. On that date Peter Amyatt was not a married man, according to evidence supplied by that excellent quarterly periodical *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV., July-December 1909, page 489, where there is a

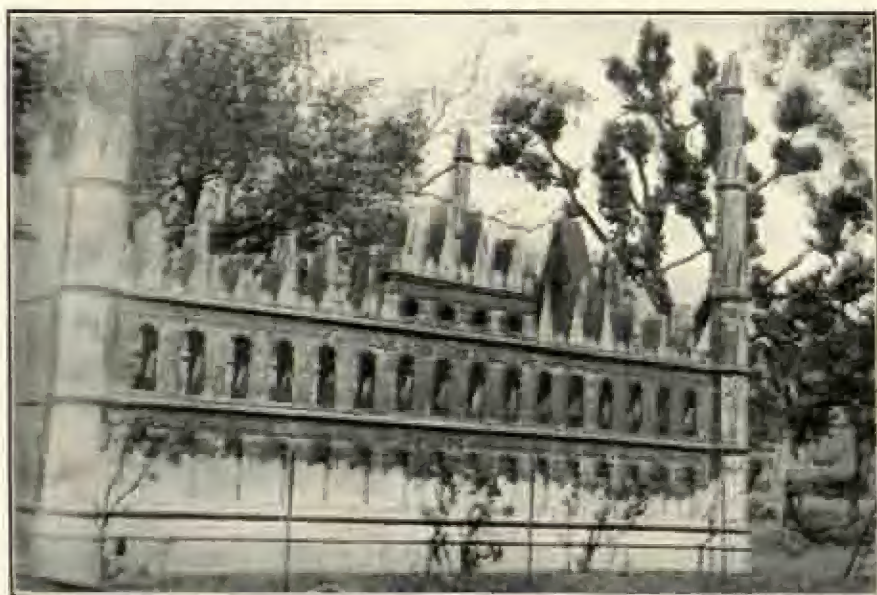








MALDA, WITH PROCESSION OF HINDE WOMAN TO THE FUNERAL PILR  
OF HER HUSBAND.  
(Colour-drawing by J. Moffat.)



MARY ANN BECKETT'S ENCLOSED GRAVE.



record, under the head of Marriages in Bengal, as follows:—"1763, April 6, Peter Amyatt, Esqr., of the Council, and Miss Maria Wollaston." It looks, therefore, as if Peter had lingered in Calcutta a couple of days longer than Mill allows, in order that he might be married before departing on his perilous mission. Peter is said have been only 15 years of age when he arrived in India, in 1742, so that in 1763 he would have been 35 or 36. Maria Wollaston, at the date of her death in 1804, was 64; and accordingly at the date of her marriage with Peter she was 25.

There could have been hardly any honeymoon for Peter and his young bride, unless she accompanied him on the boat journey up the Ganges, which was hardly likely in the then threatening state of affairs with the Nawab Cassim. It is tolerably clear, however, that the mural tablet in Talaton Church is not strictly accurate in saying that Peter Amyatt was murdered "immediately after the nuptial ceremony." According to Mill a boat, despatched from Calcutta for Patna with arms for the factory, was stopped at Monghyr by Cassim on the 25th May. Mill adds that the deputation had arrived before this boat, and had had interviews with Cassim, who treated their propositions as unreasonable, but he offered to let the boat with arms pass on to Patna if Amyatt or Hastings would go there as a Chief. He, however, utterly distrusted the impetuous Ellis as Chief at Patna. Negotiations with Cassim seemed to progress fairly satisfactorily, and on the 19th June the deputation reported favourably on the prospects of an amicable settlement. It was Ellis' undisguised preparations for hostilities at Patna and his ill-considered attack on the city that brought matters to a crisis. Amyatt had actually started on his return journey to Calcutta when this event occurred, Hay being detained by Cassim as a hostage at Monghyr. The immediate result of the Patna *fatwa* was that Cassim ordered all the English, wherever found, to be taken prisoners. Mill states that Amyatt's boat and retinue were stopped and ordered to be sent to Monghyr. "As Mr. Amyatt refused to stop his boats and answered the command which he received for that purpose by firing upon the Nabob's people, the boats were immediately boarded, and in the struggle he himself with several others was slain."

It will be seen that Mill's version differs materially from that of the two diarists in Patna, who are quoted by Talboys Wheeler. As Mill must have had opportunities of consulting many original documents, preference must be given to his version. It is curious, however, that there should be such divergent accounts of the manner and date of Peter Amyatt's death. It may be inferred from Mill that the date would have been on one of the last days in June or one of the early days in July, 1763, or nearly three months after the date of his marriage to Maria Wollaston. *Bengal: Past and Present* fixes the date as on the 3rd or 4th July. It is tolerably certain that Peter Amyatt had not been twenty-one years in India without making money. His young widow was, therefore, well provided for, and James Amyatt was one of the executors under Peter Amyatt's Will. I have suggested that James was probably a cousin of Peter's. What is certain is that James Amyatt married Maria Amyatt, widow, at Calcutta, on the 2nd March, 1764, or near about eleven months after she had become the wife of Peter Amyatt. It is on record that James Amyatt was in Command of the ship *Fort William* in 1759, and his name appears to a letter addressed to Clive in 1758 on the subject of the grievances of the merchants. The money which was necessary to enable James Amyatt to get into Parliament and remain there for a considerable period of his later life must have been made in India.

There is a record of still another Amyatt in Calcutta, for a William Amyatt was buried on the 1st May 1760. He may perhaps have been the husband of a Mrs. Amyatt, whose



name appears among those of the women and children on the ships at Fulta after the temporary downfall of Calcutta at the period of the Black Hole tragedy. It may be noted that Peter Amyatt formed one of the Council that sat at Fulta, and Holwell, on his arrival at that place, after his terrible Black Hole experience, expressed the opinion that Amyatt had been "the only person invested with any just title to conduct the affairs and concerns of the Company . . . until the arrival of the gentlemen of the Board of Calcutta, who lay under no censure of suspicion from the Service." This, Holwell thought, was the consequence of Drake and others having abandoned Fort William in the hour of danger. Peter Amyatt, before he escaped to Fulta, distinguished himself by saving a considerable amount of the Company's treasure. He was altogether a distinguished Civil Servant of the olden days, whose adventures and romantic marriage with Maria Wollaston would furnish materials for an interesting story of Anglo-Indian life in the days of Robert Clive. It is hardly necessary to add that the massacre of Patna, including the murder of Peter Amyatt, was speedily avenged by Major Adams, who, with a small force, completely shattered the powers of the Nawab Cassim, the *locum tenens* of Clive's puppet, Mir Jaffer.

9-1, KYD STREET,

Calcutta, 8th November, 1910.

DEAR SIR,—With reference to an article on page 233 of *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. V., April-June 1910, and some further notes thereon on page 341 *ibid.*, I have the pleasure of enclosing a genealogical table of the Moffats of Calcutta. As I am a direct descendant of the Artist James Moffat, I shall be greatly indebted to the Calcutta Historical Society if the dates and names omitted in the table can be researched and given me and the queries therein answered.

Two other Moffats of some note will, I believe on investigation, prove to be related to the same branch of the family to which I belong. They are:—

(1) Robert Moffat, 1796-1883, born at Ormiston, East Lothian. Famous Missionary in Africa; established the Moffat Institute for training of Native Pastors among the Bechuana at Shosnug. One of his daughters married Dr. Livingstone, the African Explorer. She died in 1862. See Routledge's "Men of the Reign."

(2) James Clement Moffat, born at Glencree in Galloway, 30th May 1811. Scottish American Clergyman. Went to America in 1833, graduated at Princeton College in 1835. Died in 1890. See Lippincot's "Dictionary of Biography."

I believe both these gentlemen are nearly related to James Moffat the Artist, if not actually his sons. Hoping to hear from you,

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

DENIS J. S. MOFFAT.









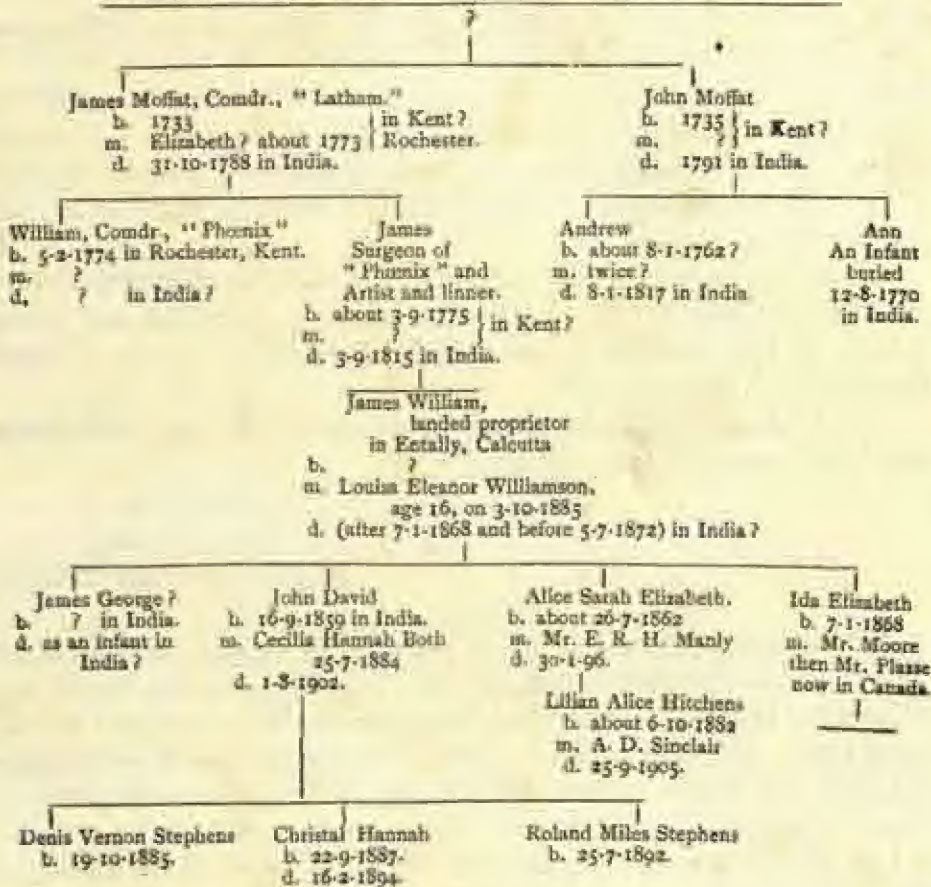
"THE JONGHÉRA ROCK."  
(Sketch by Holger, 1787.)



VERANDAH OF PIR PAHAR HOUSE, MONGHYE.  
(Photo by Lt.-Col. W. J. Buchanan, I. M. S.)



## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MOFFATS OF CALCUTTA.



WE have received the letter following from the Rev. Leighton Pullan. It may be remarked that in a list of Dutch officials in Bengal, supplied to Mr. S. C. Hill (*Bengal in 1756-7*, Vol. III, p. 409) by Dr. Colenbrander of the State Archives at The Hague, Daniel Overbeek appears as an under-merchant (under-kooplier) at Hughli (Chinsurah) in 1750. The Registers Mr. Pullan asks for are now probably at The Hague.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,  
19th October 1910.

DEAR SIR,—I shall be very grateful if you, or any of the readers of *Bengal: Past and Present*, can tell me if my ancestor Daniel Overbeek held any official position under the Dutch East India Company at Kasim Bazar. He was the father of Daniel Anthony Overbeek the last Dutch



Governor of Chinsurah. According to my family papers he was born in A.D. 1727 and married at Chinsurah in A.D. 1760, or perhaps rather later, Theodora Petrosella van Flierdea, *nee* Immens, and died in Bengal in A.D. 1770. His third son, Gerhard Ewont Overbeek, was born at Kasim Bazar 14th February 1767 and went to Capetown, where he founded a family still well known in South Africa. I have drawings of the armorial bearings of the Overbeeks and some kindred families, including those of Immens and De Mauregnault.

What has become of the registers of births (baptisms, more probably), marriages and burials of the Dutch Communities at Chinsurah and Kasim Bazar? If they still exist, they probably contain the records of Daniel Overbeek's marriage and burial.

Your valuable journal has already taught me so much about old Bengal that I feel encouraged to ask for more.

Believe me,  
Yours faithfully,  
(REV.) LEIGHTON PULLAN.

MR. A. F. C. DE COSSON writes :—Regarding my note and plan of the Fort of Teliaghari in Serial No. 11, I have since seen Mrs. Beveridge's "History of Humayan" (1902) and I find mention therein of the Ghari on pages 133-4. Shir Shah evidently fortified it, or put the existing fortifications in a state of defence in 1536, or between 1536 and the date of the battle of Chansa, 1539 (*vide* Article "Buxar," *Bengal : Past and Present*, Vol. V., p. 12). Shir Shah was at the time gathering power to overthrow Humayan and nearly met him in battle at the Ghari.

THE following letter has been received by the Honorary Secretary :—  
GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA,  
24th November 1910.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge your letter of the 19th and to convey to you and the Members of the Calcutta Historical Society Her Excellency the Countess of Minto's best thanks for the special copies of Alexander Elliot's letters which you have so kindly presented to her. The letters are of particular interest to Their Excellencies, who much appreciate your kind thought. I am to add Their Excellencies' best wishes for the continued success of the Society.

Yours faithfully,  
F. SCOTT,  
*Assistant Private Secretary to the Viceroy.*









ANCIENT CITY GATE, RAJEMAHAL.  
(Colour-drawing by J. Moffat about 1806.)



VIEW OF RAJEMAHAL.  
(Colour-drawing by J. Moffat about 1806.)



THE *Statesman* of the 8th December has the following interesting paragraph :—Those interested in matters historical and artistic will be pleased to hear that the very large portrait of Sir Elijah Impey in the High Court which the Judges entrusted in the early part of the year to Mr. A. E. Harris for restoration, has now been completed and rehung. The picture, which was obscured by grime and varnish two centuries old, now looks as though it had been recently painted. Its restoration has proved it to have been painted by Tilley Kettle in the year of the Nuncoomar trial *viz.*, 1775, and not as was supposed in 1778.

MR. GEO. LYELL writes :—In last July-September number (p. 49) there is a note by "C. C." referring to my article on Old Calcutta Prints which appeared in the previous April-June number. I have a copy of Hodges' "Travels in India" to which "C. C." alludes, and did not overlook the small line engraving ("View of Calcutta from Fort William") which appears as an illustration in that volume. But in my article I was not referring to small book illustrations but to the early series of large aquatint engravings, and I mentioned Hodges' "Select Views, etc.," as being "perhaps the very earliest series of aquatints dealing with India, although none of them actually relate to Calcutta." The "View of Calcutta, etc.," is, as stated in the letterpress, from a sketch taken in 1781, and is very interesting, but it is not to be found in the earlier published collection of aquatint by Hodges. As regards the "Views of the City of Calcutta published by Mr. Daniell" which Hodges commends for their accuracy, the views he referred to are not those appearing in Thos. and Wm. Daniell's "Oriental Scenery" (published in London 1795-1808) but to the earlier series of Calcutta views published by *Thomas Daniel* while in Calcutta, 1786-88. These were reproduced in an article, "Some Prints of Old Calcutta," which I contributed to the April-June (1909) number of the Journal. "C. C." seems to be confusing those prints with the later published "Oriental Scenery."

MESSRS. E. W. Madge and G. O'Connell send us their Second Supplementary (and Final) List of Monuments of Historic, Literary and General Interest in the Lower Circular Road Cemetery, which we publish overleaf :—



## LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD CEMETERY, CALCUTTA

—20—

## INTERESTING MONUMENTS

No.	Position	Year.	Name	Brief Remarks
139	(5TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 26 : 1st Row, West ; 4th Grave from South.	1857	Mrs. Hestage	Mrs. Goulne, Widow of B. H. Hestage, Harbour Master's Department. The inscription is a pathetic one :—" Sacred are the mortal remains of Miss JULIAN (66) HESTAGE who was drowned January 18th, 1857, aged 23 years. Snatched away in the prime of life and beauty, and on the eve of her [re-] marriage. This is erected, as a small token to her memory, by him who loved her well indeed."
140	(187 WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 35 : 2nd Row, West ; 5th grave from North.	1857	Lancelot W. Thullier	Infant son of Genl. Sir H. E. L. Thullier, F.R.S., Surveyor-General.
141	(101 WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 35 : 3rd Row, West ; 5th grave from North.	1857	Trevor F. Wheeler	Infant son and heir of Sir Trevor Wheeler, 11th Bart. Col. R.S.C.
142	(2ND WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 34 : 1st Row, West ; 1st grave from North.	1857	Jas. Sutherland	Offg. Master-Attendant. Had been Editor, <i>Bengal Harbourn</i> , etc., and Principal, Hooghly College. The date of his death (10th blank in Buckland's <i>Dict. of Indian Biog.</i> ) was October 1, 1857.
143	(1ST WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot A : 3rd Row, West ; 3rd grave from North.	1858	Marie Louis Angelucci	Child of M. Henri Angelucci, French Consul, who on the outbreak of the Motiny, offered the services of his countrymen to Government as Volunteers.
144	(1ST WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 35, 4th Row, West ; 1st grave from North.	1860	Capt. W. D. Milman, R.A.	Grandson of 1st Bart. and cousin of Bishop Milman.



145	(7TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 14, 6th Row, East; 1st grave from South.	1862	Horatio Nelson, B.C.S.	...	Civil and Sessions Judge in Bengal.
146	(7 $\frac{1}{2}$ WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 8, 1st Row, East; 1st grave from North.	1866	Virginia S. Seton-Karr	...	Infant daughter of Walter Scott Seton-Karr, B.C.S., successively Member of the Legislative Council; Judge, High Court, and Foreign Secy. Author of <i>Conraditis</i> ("Rulers of India" Series), etc. A godson of Sir Walter Scott. He retired as far back as 1870, and died as recently as November 22nd, 1910, in his 89th year. The tablet records the names of two other children buried elsewhere—"They went on their way, and the Angels of God met them."
147	(3TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 38, 3rd Row, West; 6th grave from North.	1866	Mrs. Anita G. Dowleams	...	Second wife of Baron A. M. Dowleams, Vice-Chairman, Justices of the Peace. His former wife, Mrs. E. B. Dowleams ( <i>née</i> Dove) is buried here in a separate grave (died 1853).
148	(4TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 32, 2nd Row, West; 6th grave from North.	1874	Adrian Stokes	...	Infant son of Whitley Stokes, Legal Member of Council.
149	(7TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 8; 1st Row, West; 9th grave from South.	1874	H. Le Poer Wynne, B.C.S.	...	Offg. Secretary, Foreign Department.
150	(6TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 10; 1st Row, East; 7th grave from North.	1884	Miss J. C. McDonnell	...	Her father, W. F. McDonnell, B.C.S., who retired as Judge of the High Court, was one of the few Civilians awarded the Victoria Cross.
151	(9TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 42, 2nd Row, West; 3rd grave from South.	1887	E. B. Baker	...	Dy. Insp.-Genl., Bengal Police. Author of <i>Sport in Bengal</i> .

\* The following account is taken from a local newspaper of the time:—"A most distressing accident occurred yesterday evening on the river. Three ladies with their friends had just got into a boat alongside the ship *Goddess* when it upset and the whole party were precipitated into the water. The gentlemen, by great exertions and repeatedly diving, succeeded in rescuing two of the ladies, but, sad to relate, the third was drowned, although one of the gentlemen would have saved her had not her shawl parted from his grasp! Mrs. Heritage, a young widow, who was to have been married next Wednesday, is the person who has met this miserable death."—*Bengal Herald*, Mon., Jan. 19, 1887. The inscription over Mrs. Heritage's infant son (a posthumous child), who had predeceased her by eighteen months, ends with the following strangely prophetic lines:—

"Thou art not gone; I thou'rt very near me;  
Thy angel pry longs to greet me;  
Methinks I hear thy whisper sweet,  
Ere long, my mother, we shall meet!"



No.	Position.	Year.	Name.	Brief Remarks.
152	(9TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 41 ; 3rd Row, West ; 9th grave from South.	1888	C. C. Mead, I.C.S.	Asst. Magte. and Collector in Bengal.
153	(9TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 39 ; 5th Row, West ; 2nd grave from North.	1893	H. G. Cooke, I.C.S.	Commissioner, Orissa Division.
154	(9TH WALK, SOUTH BLOCK), Plot 41 ; 4th Row, East ; 7th grave from South.	1895	Chevalier Wm. Mack	Well known in Calcutta as a Professor of Music.
155	(9TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot C ; 2nd Row, East ; 4th grave from South	1896	Hon. Edward Arundell	Third son of the eleventh Baron Arundell of Wardour.
156	(7TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 13 ; 5th Row West ; 10th grave from South	1900	H. C. Blaker	Accut., Calc. Port Trust ; son-in-law of Mark Lemon who was the Founder and first Editor of <i>Punch</i> .
157	(9TH WALK, NORTH BLOCK), Plot 39, 7th Row West ; 5th grave from South	1901	Lionel de Niceville	Joint-Author of <i>The Butterflies of India, Burma and Ceylon</i> .



# Historical Records of the Governor-General's Body Guard.\*

## A REVIEW.



HIS fine work gives at considerable length the history of the Body Guard, from 1773, the year in which it was raised, to the present day.

It was first formed, by Warren Hastings, in September 1773, with a strength of only fifty troopers, and, before the end of that year, was raised to a total strength of 115, including two European officers and 100 troopers, by the addition of 50 horse supplied by Raja Chait Singh of Benares. In 1773 the title and office of Governor-General did not exist, being conferred upon Warren Hastings from 20th October 1774. Prior to that date he was only Governor of Bengal, and the first official designation of the Body Guard was "The Governor's Troop of Moguls." During the first ten years of its existence it was known by several different titles, among them being "The Troop of Horse Guards," and "The Troop of Black Cavalry."

In 1782 Warren Hastings, as Governor-General, had also an infantry Body Guard, Captain Polhill's Regiment of 750 men, taken over from the Nawab Vizir of Oudh. This corps was broken up in February 1785, the men who composed it being either returned to the Nawab Vizir's service, or discharged.

From the very first the Body Guards were mounted on horses furnished by the State. They were therefore regular, not *siladar*, cavalry, as indeed were the cavalry regiments of the regular Bengal army up to the mutiny. In 1843 Neville Chamberlain, who had recently been appointed to the Body Guard as a subaltern, describes them as "I fancy, the best mounted cavalry in the world. Every horse is valued at a thousand rupees, and all bays."

The information that, previous to the raising of the Native Body Guard, the Governor of Bengal had a European Body Guard, may be new to many readers. This Guard was formed in 1762, under the Governorship of

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\* *Historical Records of the Governor-General's Body Guard*. Compiled by Lieutenant V. C. P. Hodson, 10th D. C. O. Lancers. Dedicated by permission to H. E. the Right Hon. the Earl of Minto, P. C., G. C. M. G., G. M. S. I., G. M. I. E., Viceroy and Governor-General of India—London, W. Thacker and Co., 2, Creed Lane, E. C.; Calcutta, Thacker, Spink and Co., 1910. pp. xiv. 414.



Mr. Vansittart and disbanded in 1772. It consisted of two troops of Dragoons and one of Hussars formed from the Infantry. This was the first Cavalry force on the Bengal establishment. In raising it "the efficiency of the Infantry was greatly impaired by the formation of a most expensive body of almost nominal and perfectly useless cavalry." In February 1763 we find that the Commander-in-Chief also had a Body Guard, consisting of 34 rank and file under a cornet. This troop appears to have been amalgamated with the Governor's Body Guard. In March 1764 the strength of the whole was reduced to 60 troopers, with officers. Such as it was, however, this first Body Guard served in two of the decisive battles of India, at Gheria, under Major Adams, on 2nd August 1763, and at Buxar, under Major (Sir Hector) Munro, on 23rd October 1764.

The strength of the Body Guard has varied greatly from time to time, in accordance with the opinions held by the Government of the period as to its functions, whether it was to be maintained only as a Guard for the Governor-General's person in war, and for ceremonial in peace; or whether it was to be considered as a cavalry regiment, stationed in the Lower Provinces in time of peace, and furnishing a considerable body of cavalry for service anywhere in war time. These two opinions seem to have prevailed almost alternately, leading to alternate reductions and increase of strength.

A letter from the Government of Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 30th September 1802, states that the duties of the Body Guard, in addition to the protection of the Governor-General's person, comprise the preservation of the peace of the town of Calcutta, and the affording of occasional assistance to the Calcutta Police. In fact (except for the word *occasional*), the duties now performed by the Calcutta Mounted Police.

The changes in the strength of the Body Guard, from time to time, are given, in their chronological order, throughout the book; also more plainly and fully in Appendix II. They may be briefly summarized as follows, showing how greatly the strength has varied from year to year.

September 1773.—Fifty troopers.

End of 1773.—Two European officers, 10 N.C.O.'s, 100 troopers.

14th February 1785.—Reduced to 50 troopers.

1792.—Four European officers, 190 N.C.O.'s and troopers.

30th April 1783.—Four Europeans (two officers and two N.C.O.'s), one Native Officer, 26 N.C.O.'s and artificers, 50 troopers.

15th January 1796.—Court of Directors ordered disbandment, not carried out.

April 1800.—Increase of two European officers, and 100 men, from Madras Cavalry.



- 30th September 1802.—Sixteen native officers, 32 N.C.O.'s, 240 troopers ; European officers and N.C.O.'s, and two light guns.
- 8th September 1803.—War establishment of six European officers, and 330 natives.
- 24th May 1805.—Reduced to establishment of 1802, total 296.
- 1st January 1806.—Reduced to four European officers, and two N.C.O.'s, two native officers, 17 N.C.O.'s, and 100 troopers.
- 28th November 1809.—Total 108, of whom 87 troopers.
- 1st January 1813.—Five Europeans, and 128 natives.
- 9th December 1814.—Six native officers, 17 N.C.O.'s, and 100 troopers added, total 240 ; also two more guns, making four in all.
- 16th June 1818.—Twenty-two N.C.O.'s, and 144 troopers added, total 420.
- 1st June 1820.—Ten Europeans, 433 natives.
- 13th February 1825.—Total strength in Burma 523 rank and file, besides one troop left at Ballyganj.
- 1st March 1827.—Reduction ordered to 100 troopers, total 138, with three European officers. This reduction was not carried out in full, 50 more troopers (total 150), being kept on as supernumerary till absorbed. The galloper guns were also withdrawn at this time.
- 29th December 1842.—Increased to 358, including six European officers and 280 troopers.
- 12th December 1844.—Increased to 530, including nine European officers and 418 troopers. Orders were also issued that two *risalas* of irregular cavalry, each too strong, should be added to the corps, but it appears doubtful whether these 200 men ever joined.
- 25th January 1847.—Orders issued for reduction to 130 of all ranks, by gradual absorption, no men being discharged. This took over ten years, the numbers gradually falling from 382 of all ranks on 1st March 1847 to 197 on 1st January 1857.
- 1st January 1857.—Reduced to 133 of all ranks, including three European officers and 98 troopers.
- August 1869.—Reduced to 68 of all ranks, two European and three Native Officers, and 63 rank and file.



May 1875.—Increased to 122 of all ranks.

For the last 35 years the Body Guard has remained of about that strength, except that thirty men were temporarily added, in January 1902, for the *Delhi Darbar*. The strength now stands at 125 of all ranks including two European officers, four Native officers and 97 *Sowars*.

A Medical Officer of the rank of Assistant Surgeon was added to the strength in August 1800. Subsequently a medical officer of any rank was sanctioned. The appointment was last held by Surgeon-Major G. Banister, a very senior officer (he was promoted to Deputy Inspector-General on 10th May 1871). He served with the corps for four and a half years from June 1866 to January 1871, when the appointment was finally abolished. It was then ordered that the medical charge of the Body Guard should devolve on the Surgeon to the Viceroy and in his absence as an additional charge on one of the Medical officers at the Presidency. A Riding Master and a Veterinary Surgeon have from time to time been appointed and reduced.

The composition of the corps has varied from time to time almost as much as its strength. The first troopers appear to have been Mussalmans, as the name "*Mogul Troop*" shows. In 1799 orders were issued for the formation in Madras of a Body Guard of 100 men for the Governor-General, each of the five regiments of Madras Cavalry furnishing twenty men. On 1st April 1800 Captain Montgomery arrived in Calcutta from Madras with 166 Madras men for the Body Guard, and a second Madras officer, Lieutenant Daniell of the 4th Madras Cavalry. In 1804 the Court of Directors ordered that the Madras Officers should return to their own Presidency; and on 22nd November 1805 Daniell, now a Major and Commandant of the Body Guard, was directed to hand over charge to the next senior officer, Captain Gall of the Bengal Army, but allowed to retain command till the next ship sailed for England, when he intended to go home. The Madras troopers transferred to Bengal appear to have been chiefly Mussalmans, but some were Hindus. During the Java War of 1811 the Corps comprised 95 Mussulmans and only ten Hindus; in the third Mahratta War in 1817, 171 Mussalmans and 79 Hindus. From that date to 1859 no statistics are available; but in the 25 years, 1859 to 1883 inclusive, 76 Mussalmans and 67 Hindus, of whom 39 were Brahmans, were enlisted. Sikhs were first enlisted in August 1883, Punjabi Mussalmans in October 1887. Since 1895 neither Brahmans nor Rajputs have been enlisted. At the present time, the number of Hindustani Mussalmans, Punjabi Mussalmans, Malwa Sikhs and Manjha Sikhs are kept approximately equal.

In January 1844 it was ordered that no officer or trooper should be admitted who had not become entitled to a medal or star for active service. The Corps was first armed with the lance in 1865.



Almost all of the European officers who have served in the Body Guard have naturally been Cavalry officers. Their second commandant, Major Horton Brisco (Captain Sweny Toone having been the first), was, however, an Infantry officer, who was appointed to that post by Warren Hastings. He served with and commanded the Corps for little over a year, 27th January 1777 to 6th April 1778. General Clavering, the Commander-in-Chief, objected to his appointment. But the General objected, as a matter of course, to everything Warren Hastings did. Another Infantry officer, Captain Rattray, who afterwards raised Rattray's Sikhs, officiated as Commandant for the greater part of 1855; but he had previously commanded the Ramgarh Local Horse for four years, including two years active service in Burma.

The headquarters of the Body Guard have of course usually been at Calcutta, where they are stationed in the suburb of Ballygunge. In 1834 they were at Sultanpur, but moved up to Umbala, then on the frontier, on 1st February 1845, in anticipation of the first Sikh War. They went to Dehra Dun, for the hot weather, for the first time, probably in 1831 and 1832, certainly they went there in 1838 and 1839. In 1847 they were again stationed there for the summer months, and have been so regularly ever since, with two exceptions, the eight years 1852-59, and the five years 1870-74.

The Body Guard, though necessarily a "show" corps, present on all occasions of impressive public ceremonial, is not a show corps only, but has a record of active service of which any regiment might be proud. We have already stated that the earlier European Body Guard took part in the decisive battles of Gheria and Buxar. Its successor has served in at least five great wars, besides many minor campaigns. Appendix I gives the war services of the corps. They comprise:—

- (1) Rohilla campaign, 1774.
- (2) Third Mysore War, 1791-92, Bangalore and Seringapatam (whole corps).
- (3) Second Mahratta War, 1804-05 (three troops and two guns).
- (4) Conquest of Java, 1811 (107). This was the last occasion on which native troops were employed against European.
- (5) Third Mahratta War, 1817-18 (whole corps). In this campaign, in November 1817, occurred the historical outbreak of cholera in the camp of the Governor-General, sometimes, but erroneously, said to be the first cholera epidemic in India.
- (6) First Burmese War, 1824-25 (523 men with guns).
- (7) Gwalior War, 1843, Maharajpur (whole corps).
- (8) Sutlej or First Sikh War, 1845-46, Mudki, Ferozshah, Aliwal and Sobraon (whole corps). At Mudki they suffered more severely



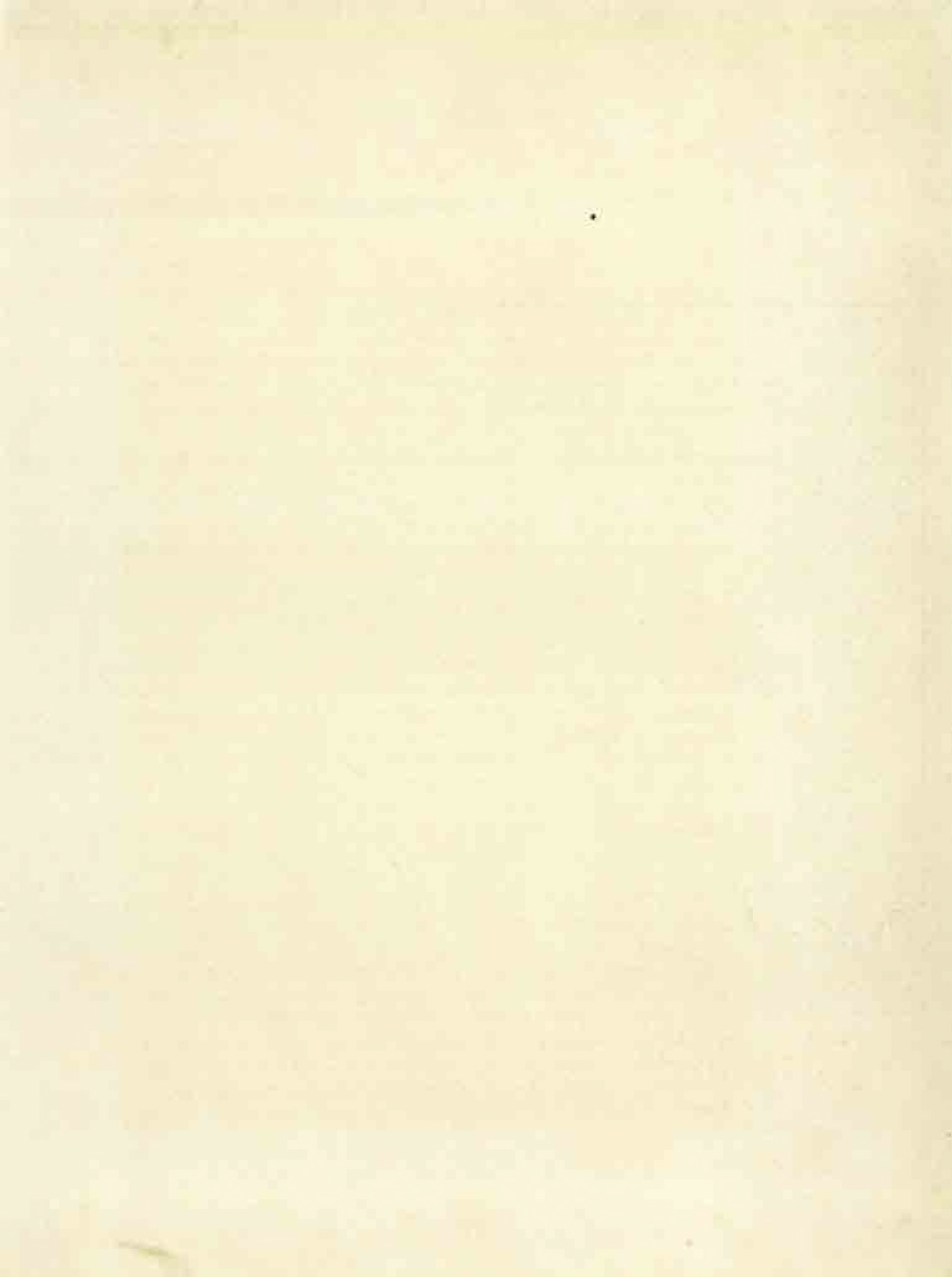
than in any other engagement in their history, losing one officer, Lieutenant Fisher, killed: their Captain Commandant, Captain C. D. Dawkins, and Lieutenant Reynell Taylor, severely wounded, the former eventually dying of his wounds; six rank and file killed; two N.C.O's and fifteen rank and file wounded.

Since the Sutej campaign, the Body Guard have not, as a whole, seen any serious active service. Both before and after, however, detachments have taken part in many campaigns, great and small. Operations against the Sanyasis, 1773-74. Chait Singh's insurrection at Benares, 1781. In the Egyptian expedition of 1801-02, under Sir David Baird, one native officer and 26 rank and file took part, as volunteers, this being the first occasion on which native troops were employed out of Asia. Reduction of Cuttack, 1803. Insurrection in Cuttack, 1817. Operations against Larka Kols, 1821. Mutiny of the 47th N. I. at Barrackpur 2nd November 1824. A small detachment in the Panjab or second Sikh war, 1849. A detachment of 100 men was employed in the Santhal Rebellion of 1855. On their return they were conveyed from Raniganj to Calcutta by rail, this being the first occasion on which railways in India were used for the conveyance of troops. Disarmament of 19th and 34th N. I. at Barrackpur, 1857. During the mutiny the men of the Body Guard were themselves disarmed and did duty without arms. In the third Burmese War a small detachment accompanied Lord Dufferin to Mandalai in February 1886.

The Body Guard has naturally taken part in all occasions of high ceremonial presided over by the Governor-General. Among such we may mention Lord William Bentinck's meeting with Ranjit Singh at Rupar on 22nd October 1831; Lord Lytton's *darbar* at which the Queen was proclaimed Empress of India; Lord Dufferin's reception of the Amir at Rawal Pindi in March 1885, and Lord Curzon's Delhi *darbar* in 1902. Jamadar Abdul Karim was one of the Native Officers deputed to the Diamond Jubilee in 1897; Jamadar Kehar Singh, with eight rank and file, to the coronation in 1902.

The general plan of the book is as follows. The first 177 pages are occupied by the history of the corps. Then follow sixteen Appendices. (1) War services. (2) Strength and class composition from time to time. (3) Note on original European Body Guard. (4) List of British officers who have served in the corps. (5) Nominal roll of British officers for each year. (6,7,8.) Biographical notices of British combatant Officers, Medical Officers, and Veterinary Surgeons. (9) Notes on European Riding masters and Non-commissioned Officers. (10) Notes on Native Officers. (11) Ballyganj cantonment. (12) Dehra Dun Estate. (13) Arms and equipment. (14) Uniform, Native ranks. (15) Dress, British Officers. (16) General orders and









RICHMOND THACKERAY, HIS WIFE AND CHILD.  
(W. M. Thackeray, aged Three Years.)  
(From a Drawing by Chinnery in 1814.)



JOHN HARMAN BECHER.



letters relating to the corps, from 1774 to 1896. A glossary, bibliography, and index complete the work. There are five splendid coloured plates, and two maps, three halftone plates, and ten portraits of distinguished officers who have served in the corps.

Among the best known officers who have served in the Body Guard may be mentioned the following, the dates being those of their attachment to the corps:—Brigadier-General W. R. Birdwood (1893-1898); Field Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain (1843-44, Maharajpur); General Sir John Doveton, of the Madras Army, (1802-05); General Sir R. C. Low (1855-56); Brigadier General William Mayne, (1844); Colonel T. Rattray (1855); and General Reynell Taylor (1844-46, severely wounded at Mudki). Of Medical Officers, Mountford J. Bramley, first Principal of Calcutta Medical College (1830); F. H. Brett (1836-1841); E. Campbell (1845-1854, Sutlej campaign, present at all four actions); and Sir James Ronald Martin (1821-1829, first Burmese War).

Three specially interesting biographies are those of Anthony Angelo Malevolti Tremanondo, Riding master, 1780-1785; the Chevalier Antoine de l'Etang, Veterinary Surgeon, 1802-1805, and Risaldar Usuf Ali Beg, appointed Native Commandant in 1779, at the mature age of *nine*, surely the youngest officer who ever held such an appointment. This premature commission was given as a reward for the services of his father, Abdulla Beg, who was Native Commandant from the time the regiment was raised, in 1773, till his death in 1779. Usuf Ali Beg was also granted an extra allowance of Rs. 300 a month, of which one half was to provide maintenance for his father's wives and daughters. He held the post for over thirty years, till his death in November 1810; but his office must have been nominal for the first eight or ten years.

The compilation of this work has evidently been a labour of love deserving, we consider, of high praise. The price, Rs. 21 is high, but probably insufficient to cover the cost of publication. The general get up is excellent, the paper and print of the best quality, and the coloured plates are beautiful. We have noticed only one misprint in the body of the work, an obvious misprint of 1823 for 1843, at the foot of page 121. The rank of Major G. Banister, on pages 223, 224, should be Surgeon-Major, not Major. The title of Lord Amherst is misspelt Amhurst in the Index.

D. G. CRAWFORD,

*Lieut.-Col., I.M.S.*



# Thackeray Centenary Commemoration Fund.

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THE THACKERAY COMMEMORATION.



LAST summer it was suggested that the approach of the hundredth anniversary of the birth, in Calcutta on the 19th July 1811, of William Makepeace Thackeray, made it desirable that steps should be taken to commemorate that fact in some suitable manner. A Committee, which includes the Council of the Calcutta Historical Society, and consists of the gentlemen whose names are printed above, was accordingly formed to decide how the project should be carried out. The Committee has met three times, on the 26th October 1910, 23rd December 1910, and the 13th January 1911, and after careful deliberation have decided that :—

" Mr. Leonard Jennings, lately sculptor to the Government of India, be commissioned to execute in white marble, a bust of Thackeray at Mature Age, and, if sufficient funds are available, that a replica in white marble of Deville's bust of Thackeray as a boy, be obtained."

A circular will accordingly be issued forthwith asking for subscriptions and also asking subscribers to say whether, supposing only the adult bust, which is already ordered, is to be had, they consider that it should be placed in St. John's Church or the Victoria Memorial Hall, and supposing we can afford both busts, which should be placed in the Victoria Hall and which in St. John's Church.

The President of the Committee is the Hon'ble Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Kt., K.C.I.E., the Secretary, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Stephen, and the Treasurer Mr. J. C. Mitchell.

Readers of *Bengal : Past and Present* will greatly assist the Committee if they will suggest to the Secretary, persons to whom the circulars could usefully be sent. Arrangements will, it is hoped, be made for the issue of circulars in England and the United States.





## Reviews.

DAK-DICTA: A SELECTION OF VERSES WRITTEN IN  
CALCUTTA 1904-1910. BY WILMOT CORFIELD.  
CALCUTTA: THACKER, SPINK & CO.



AS many of the verses which make up this pleasant volume have appeared in *BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT*, it would be but praising our own wares to review them in this place and we must restrict ourselves to recommending the book to our readers. Mr. Corfield has a fine sense of the picturesque in Anglo-Bengal history, and mastery of the language appropriate to his subject. The lines on Murshedabad seem to us to have exactly caught the sentiment of "the crumbled courts of Murshed." Mr. Corfield, it must be admitted, is far too fond of some old historical myths, and he stretches the poet's license rather far when he suggests that Job Charnock may perhaps have listened to the preaching of John Bunyan, which seems to have commenced about the time Calcutta's founder arrived in Bengal. It is on record that Job arrived with cavalier locks floating over his shoulders, and that his head was shorn as a concession to the prejudices of the "Moors." We do not for one moment incline to the suggestion that old Job ever entertained a tender regard for Puritans or Puritanism. Perhaps Mr. Corfield will at some time conjure up the cavalier Job Charnock, haunted at times by a devotion to lost causes and impossible loyalties, but above all a clear-sighted Yorkshire man. We commend *Dak Dicta* most heartily. Mr. Corfield has been treasurer of the Calcutta Historical Society since its first formation and has done yeoman's service in the cause we have at heart. In bidding him farewell on the occasion of his retirement from India, we console ourselves with the reflection that there will be plenty of work for him to do for us in the home land and we look to him to illustrate the maxim of his favourite Horace—*Calum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*.

W. K. F.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1630-1633. A CALENDAR  
OF DOCUMENTS IN THE INDIA OFFICE, BOMBAY RECORD  
OFFICE, ETC. BY WILLIAM FOSTER, OXFORD,  
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS, 1910.

IN this new addition of what promises well to be a series of stately volumes, Mr. Foster carries his calendar on to the time of the arrival of the first English Factors in the Bay—to the date at which the late E. R. Wilson



commenced his *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*. Interesting as the former volumes of Mr. Foster's work have been, yet every new volume will gain in interest for members of our Society, for each volume will bring us closer to the days of Job Charnock. The capture of Hughli from the Portuguese in June 1632 was the event which invited the English to crawl further northward. On 17th July, a year later, we find Thomas Colley at Hariharpur, a town in the delta of the Mahanadi, writing to Ralph Cartwright at Balasore, "lammmenting" that the Portuguese have got back into favour with Shawghan (Shah Jehan), and that "our expectation of Hugli is frusstrayt, and I fear likewise Pippoly will n[ot by] us be obtainened, beeing an ancient randyooes of the[irs]." A most picturesque account of the first visit of the English to Orissa will be found in William Barton's *News from the East Indies; or a Voyage to Bengalla*, from which Dr. Wilson quoted at length in the first volume of his *Early Annals*. With the bright energetic letters of these early pioneers is contrasted their sudden deaths. A portrait of William Feilding, Earl of Denbigh, forms a frontispiece to the volume, and we have some lights on his journey to the Moghul in 1631. Those who are interested in the subject of famines in India will, of course, find much here concerning the terrible visitation of 1630. Mr. Foster's introduction and footnotes afford, as usual, a wealth of rare knowledge. A word of commendation is due on account of the most helpful index. Indeed the indices to Mr. Foster's volumes are so good that we feel sure that no one but Mr. Foster himself can have compiled them. We understand that the next volume in this series will bring the history on to 1636, *i.e.*, to the date of the expulsion of the Portuguese from Hijili. We are afraid that these volumes are too little known to folk in Bengal, and we trust that this far too brief notice will at least serve to induce those of us who can afford to keep a library to add to it the *English Factories in India*.

W. K. F.





## Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.



ONCE in three years comes the navy of Tharshish bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks." To Malta, however, it is said there comes once in every year a "fishing fleet" of fair maidens in search of husbands. The reader will remember a novel of Miss Johnston's which begins with a picture of a bevy of young English girls consigned to America for literal purchase by the matrimonially inclined. Was Calcutta ever so privileged? I recollect in my first days in Calcutta a friend who was explaining to me the antiquities of St. John's Church, pointed with pride to the portico, saying "Just fancy! There, on a Sunday morning a hundred years ago, would be arrayed groups of pretty girls brought out from England to be married to rich and probably aged civilians, whom they had never seen before or perhaps not even heard of." I must confess that I had then a difficulty in believing in those famous "fishing fleets," and now, after the careful study of the Marriage Registers for nearly the whole of the 18th century, my scepticism has been on the increase. Yet, it cannot be doubted that in days gone by what is to-day achieved by diplomacy was then sought in a blunter and more direct fashion. One remembers the offers Sir Mathew Miles makes in Foote's comedy, *the Nabob*, to the genteel but impecunious Sir Thomas and Lady Oldham for the hand of their eldest daughter. "And that the principals may have no cares for the younger parts of their family, Sir Miles, will, at his own expense, transport the two young ladies, Miss Oldham's sisters, to Madras or Calcutta, and there procure them suitable husbands." J. H. Reynolds (1796-1852), a friend of Keats wrote:—

"Go where the water glideth gently ever,  
Glideth by meadows that the greenest be,  
Go listen to our own beloved river,  
And think of me."

And this his affectionate brother-in-law, Tom Hood, parodied:—

"Go where the maiden on a marriage plan goes,  
Consigned for wed-~~lock~~ to Calcutta's quay,  
Where woman goes for man, the same as man goes,  
And think of me!"

Is there anything in the "fishing fleet" tradition after all? Does not Thackeray in *Vanity Fair* tell how Mrs. Hardyman "had had out her thirteen sisters,



daughters of a country curate, the Rev. Felix Rabitts, and married eleven of them, seven high up in the service".

As a side light on this question, I am emboldened to make a lengthy quotation from Vol. V. of H. D. Sandeman's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*. To those interested in *Hardly House* "the dear Maria" will be familiar:—

FOR THE "REPOSITORY."

MR. EDITOR,—Your correspondent, *A Bachelor*, in the last number of the *Repository* quotes an advertisement, if I recollect rightly (for I have not the article before me), from the *Madras Journal*, which is entitled—"A raffle for ladies;" and which announces, that on a certain day a number of females, recently imported, would be put into a sort of lottery; the most fortunate holders, I suppose, being allowed their choice out of the collection, and the owners of the lesser prizes being obliged to take up with the leavings. Whether any of the tickets of this lottery or raffle were divided and shared, we do not learn; but if they were, it is difficult to see how the matter could be adjusted: for suppose one female to fall to the lot of two, three, or four gentlemen, in what way could the business be settled, unless the gentlemen again threw among themselves for the lucky chance, or unless they consented to stated periods of possession, which, if the practice of raffling be allowed at all, is not impossible. Your correspondent, however, admits, that he doubts whether the whole advertisement be intended to be taken in joke or in earnest; and he requires some information upon that particular subject, which I do not pretend to be able to supply, never having been in India myself, and fortunately never having had a female relation who went there upon a speculation like that to which he refers. I should have thought, that from his maiden aunt, of whom he speaks as having tried her fortune there and failed, he might have obtained some curious intelligence, that would have thrown a little light upon a subject, in which we are kept in comparative darkness. This obscurity and secrecy he properly hints, arises from an unwillingness in the females to talk upon such unpleasant subjects, or to communicate any information as to the contrivances employed by them to obtain husbands at any rate. If, nevertheless, I am not prepared to supply any information regarding the custom of raffling for females at Madras, I have it in my power, through a channel I will presently name, to give a faithful account of the mode in which matters of this kind were formerly arranged at Calcutta.

You are no doubt aware, that, from the different systems of Government now prevailing in our Indian possessions, and from various other causes to which I need not allude, much fewer fortunes are now made there than about twenty, or even ten years ago, when the larger number of male adventurers, who went out in the interest of some great man or family, obtained petty Governments or States, and ruled over them just as best suited their own views and purposes, so that if the Governor wished to obtain a large fortune rapidly (and you may readily believe that very few did not entertain this desire), they only had to lay double taxes on their miserable subjects, who were without appeal to any higher tribunal, and were therefore compelled to pay. This condition of affairs is now completely altered, I am happy to say: but with it has been introduced an alteration of serious importance to the fair sex, viz., that those gentlemen who go out to India *single*, are often obliged to remain so, at least for a great number of years, and there is consequently a



much less demand for females than formerly. This, I know, is a melancholy piece of information for ladies of a certain age in this country, but all recent advices concur in representing it as true.

It is the circumstance that seems to me to render it probable, that the advertisement inserted by *A Bachelor*, in his letter, is a genuine and serious proposal, and is a new expedient resorted to by a number of ladies in despair, after waiting long and vainly for offers from those who really are not in a condition to marry them. Whether marriage were to be the consequence of obtaining a prize in this lottery or raffle, or whether that point were left to the discretion and choice of the parties winning, is a question it seems material to decide, with a view to the moral part of the subject, which has properly been noticed by your correspondent.

But, Mr. Editor, it is not a little singular, though in no inconsiderable degree offensive to our old fashioned notions of propriety, to serve the mode in which ladies, some of rank and education, were a few years ago accustomed to dispose of themselves at Calcutta, and I apprehend at Madras and Bombay. This will be ascertained from the following extract of a letter from a young female, who, in ignorance of the prevailing practice, and having neither fortune nor friends in this country, and only beauty and a good understanding to recommend her, was induced to go out in one of the fleets to the Indies. I apprehend that it gives but too true a picture of what was the real state of things, and we cannot rejoice too much that the necessity of the case at last has produced some alteration for the better. I quote the particulars of her letter in her own words, omitting some of the prefatory parts that relate merely to her private affairs, and to her few and poor connections in England. It was addressed to her cousin, who had desired her to tell her the result of her adventures, and to give her advice, whether it would be fit for her to try this same experiment.

"MY DEAREST MARIA,

" \* \* \* \* "With respect to your request, that I should tell you plainly what I think of these matrimonial schemes (for such they are, let people disguise them as they will), I never can impress upon you too strongly the folly and impropriety of your making such an attempt. Certainly, the very project itself is one of the utmost indelicacy; for what is it but running counter to all the dictates of that diffidence and native modesty for which Englishwomen have been so long held up as the perfect models? Let me conjure you to lay aside all thoughts of the kind, and rather live single in your own country upon the poorest pittance you can obtain by your art or industry, than do as I have done—an action which I shall repent to the last hour of my life.

"True it is I am married; I have obtained that for which I came out to India—a husband; but I have lost what I left behind me in my native country—happiness. Yet my husband is rich, as rich, or richer, than I could desire; but his health is ruined, as well as his temper, and he has taken me rather as a convenience than as a companion; and he plays the tyrant over me with as much severity as if I were one of the slaves that carry his palanquin. I will just give you a hasty sketch of the manner in which I came by him. What a state of things is that, where the happiness of a wife depends upon the death of that man who should be the chief, not the only source of her felicity! However, such is the fact in India; the wives are looking out with gratitude for the next mortality that may carry off their husbands in order that they may return to England to live upon their jointures; they live a married life, an absolute misery, that they may enjoy a widowhood of affluence and independence. This is no exaggeration I assure you."



"You know that independent of others, there were thirty of us females on board the H,—who sailed upon the same speculation: we were of all ages, complexions, and sizes, with little or nothing in common, but that we were single, and wished to get married. Some were absolutely old maids of the shrivelled and dry descriptions, most of them above the age of fifty; while others were mere girls, just freed from the tyranny of the dancing, music, and drawing masters at boarding school, ignorant of almost everything that was useful, and educated merely to cover the surface of their mental deformity. I promise you, to me it was no slight penance to be exposed during the whole voyage to the half sneering, satirical looks of the mates and Guinea pigs,\* and it would have been intolerable, but for the good conduct and politeness of Captain S—. He was a man of most gentlemanly deportment, but the involuntary compassion I fancied I sometimes discovered in him was extremely irksome. However, we will suppose our voyage ended, for nothing at all material happened and that we are now safely landed at Calcutta.

"This place has many houses of entertainment of all descriptions, and the gaiety that prevails after the arrival of a fleet from England is astonishing. The town is filled with Military and Civil Officers of all classes; and the first thing done after we have recovered our looks, is for the Captains to give an entertainment, to which they issue general invitations and everybody, with the look and attendance of a gentleman, is at liberty to make his appearance. The speculative ladies who have come out in the different ships, dress themselves with all the splendour they can assume, exhausting upon finery all the little stock of money they have brought out with them from Europe. This in truth is their last, or nearly their last stake, and they are all determined to look and dance as divinely as possible.

"Such are the majority of the ladies; while the gentlemen are principally composed of those who have for some time resided in the country, and having realized fortunes, are determined to obtain wives with as little delay as possible. They are, as I have said, of all ranks, but generally of pale and squalid complexions, and suffering under the grievous infliction of liver complaints. A pretty prospect this for matrimonial happiness! Not a few are old and infirm, leaning upon sticks and crutches, and even supported about the apartment by their gorgeously dressed servants, for a display of all kind of splendour on their part is no less attempted and accomplished. These old, decrepit gentlemen address themselves to the youngest and prettiest, and the youngest and prettiest, if properly instructed in their parts, betray no sort of coyness or reluctance. In fact, this is the mode in which matches are generally made; and if now and then one happy couple come together, thousands are married with no hope of comfort, and with a prospect merely of splendid misery. Generally speaking, in India, the officers make the best husbands, for they are frequently young and uninjured by the climate, and are the best disposed to attend to the wishes of their wives.

"This is called the Captain's 'Ball,' and most frequently the greater part of the expectant ladies are disposed of there; it is really curious, but most melancholy, to see them ranged round the room, waiting with the utmost anxiety for offers, and looking with envy upon all who are more fortunate than themselves.

"If, however, as is sometimes the case, a considerable number remain on hand, after the lapse of about three months, they unite in giving an entertainment at their own expense, to which all gentlemen are at liberty to go; and if they fail in this *dernier resort*,—this forlorn hope, they must give up the attempt, and return to England."



Probably, Mr. Editor, the maiden aunt of your correspondent was in this last predicament; she baited her hook twice but failed to catch any fish. Be this as it may, I think that the above quotation supplies some amusing, though at the same time rather painful, particulars regarding the system that used to be pursued in India, by adventurous females; it is therefore quite at the service of your correspondent, *A Bachelor*, and should any other facts come to my knowledge from the same source, I will not fail to send them to you for insertion.

Yours Most Obediently,  
N. S. B.

AMONG the tablets which have been built into the steps of the Charnock Mausoleum there is one in solemn Latin.—

Hic in spe beatitudinis Christi recumbent  
Cineres Domine MARTINAE ORME  
Viduae Reverendo Roberto Orme, decesso,  
Sanctitate in Deum et benignitate in omnes  
Præclara fuit.  
Spiritus agebat supremum IV die Februarii,  
Anno Redemptionis MDCCXXXV, Aetatis suae  
LXVII  
Hic etiam requiescunt cineres  
Dominae Louisae Theresae Meredith, Filiae  
praedictae Martinæ et Roberti Orme. Felicissime  
nupta fuit Jacobo Meredith, hujus loci  
incolae, cui semper in omnibus hujus vitae  
actionibus carissima fuit. Pietate et sanctitate  
beatæ matris prædita fuit, bona sua  
indoles singularisque benignitatis  
cum pura castaque mente juncta.  
Gratam Omnibus Reddiderunt  
Supremum Obiit XII diem Septembris  
Anno Christi MDCCXLI Aetatis suae XXVII.

It would be a natural act of piety on the part of Calcutta Historical Society to trace the history of any members of the family of the distinguished historian Robert Orme. The historian, as we know, was the son of Surgeon Alexander Orme, and was born at Anjengo (the birth place in 1744 of Elizabeth Schater afterwards the notorious Mrs. Draper) on X'mas day 1728. In 1742, after his education at Harrow, the future historian joined a business in Calcutta, and very shortly after entered the East India Company's Service, and went off to the Madras Presidency. He was probably a nephew of Dame Martha Orme of the epitaph and a cousin of Louisa Teresa Orme. The St. Anne's Burial Registers show the interment of Mrs. Martha Orme on 4th February 1735-6, and in the previous May (the 8th) of Mr. Edgerton Orme, and on 19th April 1736-7, Mr. Alexander Orme. A Catherine Orme was buried on 17th October and Mrs. Eleanor





CHRIST CHURCH, CHITTAGONG.  
( Built 1840 : Consecrated 1850.)



RUINS OF SIR WM. JONES' BUNGALOW,  
CHITTAGONG.



RUINS OF SIR WM. JONES' BUNGALOW,  
CHITTAGONG.







Orme on 3rd December 1734.\* Miss Louisa Teresa Orme, being aged twenty-seven at the time of her death in 1741, would have been about twenty-two years old when her mother died. The Marriage Registers show:—

1736. May 2.—Mr. John Searle and Mrs. Louisa Maria Theresa Orme. Searle's name appears on the Register of Burials on date 6th October following. On 3th December 1736, the widow married Mr. James Meredith who is mentioned in her epitaph. It may be conjectured that the Miss Margaret Teresa Orme, who, on 12th October 1736, married Captain John Lloyd was a cousin or sister of Mary Theresa Orme. What a rapid succession of marriages and deaths in a single family! Mary Theresa Meredith died 12th September 1741, and on 21st December Meredith married Mrs. Mary Shepherd. Here is a tangle.

Mary . . . marries Paul Graton, a French refugee.

1713. October 6.—Mary Graton marries John Cassells (or Cassels) a Pilot who died 2nd August 1724-5.

1726. August 5.—She marries Major Richard Hunt (died, buried 2nd January 1731).

1734. November 1.—She marries Captain Andrew Shepherd (buried 1st August 1742).

1742. December 21.—She marries James Meredith, an attorney of the Mayor's Court.

On 26th February 1750-1, the name "Mrs. Mary Meredith, Inhabitant" appears on the Burial Register.

IN an article which appears in the *Statesman* of 23rd July I endeavoured to trace the matrimonial career of a Mrs. Elizabeth Fisher, but I had not the St. Anna's Burial Register before me at the time, and I think I have probably confused two different persons. Here is the tangle—

1716. A Mrs. Elizabeth Fisher came out on the *Prince Frederick* to go "to her father, Thos. Morris, one of the Company's pilots in Bengal."

1716. November 6.—Richard Bass to Elizabeth Fisher.

1726. February 5.—Mr. Edward Pomfret to Mrs. Elizabeth Bass.

1726. September 18.—Captain Robert Milne to Mrs. Elizabeth Fisher.

1749. January 19.—Peter Noke, Esq., to Mrs. Elizabeth Fisher, widow.

In the way of identifying these Elizabeths with one person there stands the entry in the Burial Register "1727, January 16, Mrs. Elizabeth Pomfret."

\* Also William Orme, Mariner. Buried 10th September 1738. Mrs. Sarah Orme 23rd November 1744.

In Vol. III. of Wilson's *Annals* (unpublished) I find the will of Richard Bass, Mariner. After making certain benefactions, he bequeathes the remainder of his estate to his beloved wife Elizabeth Bass "in



The successive marriages of the Begum Johnson are known to all who read books of Calcutta history. Mrs. Downes has a fairly lengthy record:—

1. Date unknown marries Captain Edward Rigby.
2. Married Captain Thomas Garland, 14th July 1731.
3. Married Captain Andrew Glen (buried 3rd August) 31st December 1733.
4. Married Captain Robert Leonard (died 15th April 1748) 16th September 1747.
5. Married Captain David Clayton (died 20th January 1736) 31st July 1749.
6. Married Mr. Downes 2nd September 1760.

The Burial Register shows us "1765, November 23, 1765, Mrs. Downes" and this may refer to the lady who had at least six husbands in succession.

Before me lies an exceedingly statistical pamphlet entitled *A Vindication of General Richard Smith, Chairman of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, etc., London, 1783. I take it that the author is Captain Joseph Price. In it I find what is perhaps the earliest version of a famous story.

"When Mr. Orme held the office of Export Warehouse-keeper to the East India Company at Madras, he was remarkable for keeping the young men in the service at a sufficient distance. It happened that one Mr. Davison acted under him in his office, in whose blunt John Bull manners there appeared something odd and diverting. The former had condescended to invite the latter to breakfast with him, in the course of which, he asked Davison of what profession his father was? 'A sadler, sir,' replied the other. 'A sadler!' repeated the historian, with some degree of surprise; 'why did he not breed you up a sadler?' 'Why sir,' says Davison, 'I was always a whimsical boy, and rather chose to try my fortunes, as you have done, in the East India Company's service. But pray sir,' continued he, 'what profession was your father of?' 'My father, sir,' answered Mr. Orme sharply, 'was a gentleman.' 'A gentleman humph—Pray, sir, be so good as to inform me, why he did not breed you up a gentleman?' The retort is new and good, and I think worth preserving." (pp. 9—10).

IN another pamphlet by the same writer, *the Saddle put on the Right Horse, or an Inquiry into the Reason why certain Persons have been denominated*

case she should have no child of his body, and in case a child should be born one-third of the estate to the child." The Burial Register records:

1718-19. April 2. Thomas Bass Infant.

1718-19. August 30th. Mr. Richard Bass, Mariner.

The will of Thomas Morris, Elizabeth Fisher's father, comes just before this, but Elizabeth is not mentioned in it.





CHITTAGONG CEMETERY.



CHITTAGONG CEMETERY.







*Nabobs with an arrangement of these Gentlemen into their proper classes*, London, 1783, there are some scathing remarks on the subject of Colonel Dow's *History of Hindoostan*. Here it is asserted that Bolts was encouraged "in his infamous publications" by "the Minister of the Day" in order to facilitate the scheme of claiming the territory held by the East India Company for the Crown, and by way of proof we are referred to Edmund Burke's *Observation on the Late state of the Nation*. It is clear that Captain Price viewed Orme with suspicion as the friend of General Richard Smith ("the cheesemonger's son"), and Dow as the author of gratuitous scandal about the English in India and the imitator of Bolts.

I BEG to quote at length a brief article by Mr. McMillan which appeared in the *Statesman* of 27th September last. It will be read with greater interest in connection with the rumour that Mr. S. C. Hill, the Author of *Bengal in 1756-7*, is now at work on the Orme MSS.

#### LOST CHAPTERS OF ORME'S HISTORY.

MANY years ago I argued with a London book seller that a copy of "Orme's Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan" must be incomplete because the third volume ends with the following:—

"Col. Coote embarked on the 13th of March 1761 and with him our narrative returns to the affairs of Bengal."

My friend agreed with me, and I bought the set cheap as a volume must be missing. But that one I have never found, though often sought for. Orme published his last goodly quarto ending with the above sentence in 1778. He brought out other editions of his history, he had become historiographer to the Company on a handsome salary, which he continued to draw till his death in 1801. For twenty-three years then his chronicle remained cut short, promise of completion unfulfilled, while he piled up the great Orme collection of manuscripts. Still more curious, in 1782, he brought out "Historical Fragments." That too he closed abruptly, just as he had done four years before, as follows: "But our narrative must now resume, as well as it can, the English concerns in the Empire from the end of 1685."

He never took up this broken thread either. He toiled on, and though every one has praised his works, apparently no one read them through, for no one has noticed that he left unfinished both the books he published, dropped his narrative, "left half told the story of Cambuscan bold" and collected manuscripts. He gave us the history of sixteen years only, so well that Macaulay described him as "inferior to no English historian in style and power of painting," and his narrative as most "authentic and finely written." Not only did he leave half told perhaps the most extraordinary event in the world's history, but no one since has taken up the task—at least, no one worthy of it has worn his mantle. In 1782 he crept silently from the stage where he had acted so well, in the middle of the great drama, leaving no one to take his part. What was the cause? I fear it must be laid to the charge of Edmund Burke, who from 1781 commenced his attacks upon the East India Company which in 1780 he had defended. Burke not only attacked Hastings but he denounced with ferocity, the "slaver of a mad dog" as Thurlow said, all the servants of the Company, such as Orme. Colonel Dow had also written a history of



India, a valuable and impartial work. Burke coupled him with Hastings, in one of his most famous tirades. What wonder that the gentle Orme shrunk from such a danger and stopped dead as a historian in 1782. Will some one at home examine the Orme manuscripts and find out why he ceased from his great task, so nobly begun? The loss to the history of India has been incalculable. The missing chapters of Livy are mourned by the world of letters, but every friend of India will deplore still more that we now have to grope in dark places on which light could have been thrown by Robert Orme alone. He not only chronicled the wars of England in India with industry and dramatic power, but he also described the people of India, their customs and economy, their looms and ploughs, their treachery, indolence, superstition.

Yet he added: "If ever superstition produced an universal good it is in Induism where we see it the foundation of an universal benevolence." Many noble and impartial truths are to be found in Orme, and if the fruitful tree was blasted by the simoon of Burke's denunciations, this is only one more *damnum haereditas* of party oratory, which is daily up till now doing more and more to wreck the peace and prosperity of India.

Very strange too it is that James Mill brought out his history of India in 1818; he entered the Company's service in 1819, his son John Stuart Mill also entered the India Office in 1823, but from 1818 till 1873 when the son died, neither one nor the other did anything to complete—improve, or correct the great but very faulty work which was the foundation of the fortunes of both. Ending with 1805, it remained a mere *forma*.

If I may draw a moral, officialism is as deadly an enemy to the historical spirit, as platform oratory.

C. McMINN.

IN connection with the publication of the Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials belonging to St. John's Church, Calcutta, the following letter extracted from the District Records of Rungpore will be of some interest:—

TO MESSRS. R. JOHNSON AND E. HAY,  
Church Warden, Calcutta.

12th June 1787  
RUNGPORE

GENTLEMEN,

I have received a letter from the Board of Revenue directing me to transmit to you correct notes of all marriages or burials at which I have either officiated or been present. In consequence of which I have the honour to inform you that I have never since I came to India been present at either of these ceremonies out of Calcutta, excepting on the late occasion at this place when Mr. Collins, the Surgeon, officiated at the interment of Lieutenant James Roach, who died here on the 21st April last, aged about 33 years of age.

As I conceive that your object in applying for the above information is to render a Register of the new Church as complete as possible, the following notes may prove acceptable, though they are not so correct as I could have wished.

*List of Burials and Marriages within the District of Rungpore from the year 1771 to the 12th June 1787.*

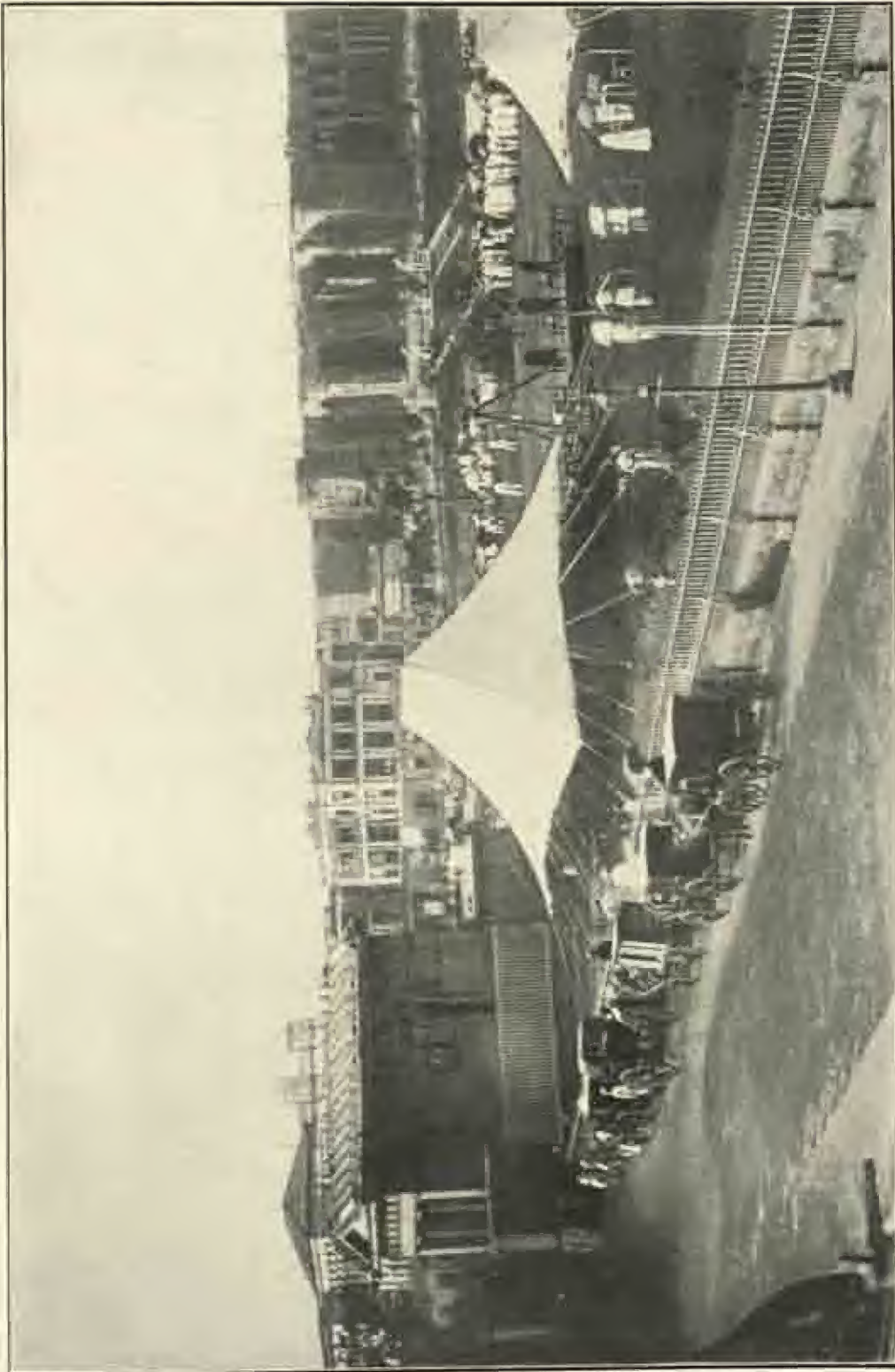
Mr. Grosse. Buried in April 1771 at Rungpore.

Captain Thomas. Buried in December 1772 at Rungpore.

Mr. Williams. Buried in May 1773 at Rungpore.

Mr. Biggos. Buried in——1780 at Juggagopah.





THE SITE OF THE DALHOUSIE INSTITUTE ON THE DAY OF THE LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION STONE, MARCH 4TH, 1862.







Mr. DeMaulin. Buried in June 1782 at Rungpore.

Daniel Raub to Miss Mayo—married October 1782 at Rungpore.

Mr. Taylor. Buried———1783 at Coryganj.

Mr. Philip Broughton. Buried 4th August 1784 at Rungpore.

John Eckber. Buried August 1784 at Rungpore.

A Servant of Mr. James Christies, name unknown. Buried October 1784 at Rungpore.

James Roach. Buried 31st April 1787 at Rungpore.

I shall, in future, do myself the honour of communicating to you such marriages and burials as may happen within the Districts under my charge.

I am,  
Gentlemen, etc.,  
DAY HART McDOWALL,  
Collector.

MR. WILLIAM IRVINE has been so kind to say of my "Leaves" in the April Number last "you make a considerable contribution to our knowledge of Henry Verelst's Indian career." I may say that I have been exerting my utmost endeavours to throw further light on that subject, but with scanty and perhaps with no success at all. One would like to know more about Verelst's expedition to Cachar. In the chapter on Manipur, Mr. E. A. Gait in his *History of Assam* p. 265, writes: "In 1755, and again in 1758, the country was over-run by the Burmese, and part of it was permanently annexed by them. In 1762, a treaty was negociated by Jai Singh, the Manipur king, with the British Government whereby the latter undertook to assist in the recovery of the lost provinces; and in January 1763, a contingent of British troops under Mr. Verelst left Chittagong. They reached Khaspur near Badurpur in April, but suffered so much from the continuous rain and from disease that they fell back to Jaynagar, on the left of the Barak, whence they were eventually recalled." Are the records relative to this expedition in existence, and if so where are they to be found? On the supposition that a journal of Verelst's expedition might be preserved among the records of the India Office, I made inquiries of Mr. William Foster, but I am informed by him that no records of the journey are to found at Whitehall. There are, however, on the Indian Office Consultations of 1762:—

19th September. Copy of a letter from Mr. Henry Verelst to the President regarding the pretensions of the Meckley [*i.e.*, the Manipur] Raja. Pages 224-225.

14th do. Copy of articles of alliance proposed by Hurry Dass Gossein on behalf of Joy Sing, Rajah of Meckley to Mr. Henry Verelst, Chief and Council of Chittagong.



Sir H. J. S. Cotton (*Revenue History of Chittagong* p. 10) writes: "From indirect sources of information it appears that Mr. Verelst remained at Chittagong, with casual leave of absence only, up to the end of 1764."

The other matter in regard to Verelst is his Revenue Survey of the Calcutta Zemindary in 1767 which, Grant says was "found on the completest most authentic hustabood investigation ever executed in Bengal." Of this important measure I can find no further record than a letter from H. Verelst, dated April 29, 1767, which is given in *Long's Selections*. [No. 946].

THE following are a rather interesting extract relating to Calcutta Buildings. They are extracted from "Asiatic Intelligence—Calcutta, March 1839" in Vol. XXVIII. New Series of the *Asiatic Journal*.

(1). Government contemplates the stupendous undertaking of a bridge across the Hoogly; the expense is estimated at 12 lacs of rupees, and the site is to be above the city. The estimates have been prepared, or are in course of preparation, and the work is to be entrusted to an engineer officer whose skill and science have rendered his ability conspicuous to the residents of the metropolis. The bridge will be supported on cylinders, secured on floats, which will be fastened so as to resist the weather and the tides.\*

(2). At a recent meeting presided by the Lord Bishop, as to the locality to be assigned to the statue of Bishop Heber, the question of greatly enlarging the Cathedral [*i.e.* St. John's Church. *Ed., Bengal: Past and Present*] came under general consideration. His Lordship expressed his confidence in being able to procure by private donations and subscription the sum of Rs. 50,000 to lengthen the present aisle of the Cathedral, and construct at the eastern extremity a cross aisle to be occupied by statues, monuments, tabular inscriptions etc.

(3). At a meeting of subscribers to the Metcalfe Library Buildings, it appeared that the amount of subscriptions realised was Co's Rs. 10,782-13-31 when it was resolved "that the Committee shall place itself in communication with the Public Library Committee, to ascertain whether the Public Library Society will transfer their vested funds for the purpose of assisting in the erection of the Metcalfe Library Building, on the terms of the resolution of the first public meeting held at the Town Hall, on Thursday, the 20th August 1835, and that, in event of the Public Library meeting assenting to the above proposition, application be made to Government for the necessary extent of ground on either side of and to the north of the building, which contains Lord Hastings' Statue."

WHAT is now the portico of the Dalhousie Institute was originally built in 1824 to afford protection to Flaxman's statue of the Marquis of Hastings. It is interesting to notice that idea of turning the erection into a portico of a public institution dates back to 1839. We are able to give in the present number a reproduction of a photograph of the site of the present Dalhousie Institute on the day when the foundation-stone was laid with full masonic honours in the presence of Sir Cecil Beadon, the then Lieutenant-

\* The present Howrah bridge was completed in 1874. See *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta* P. 163.









W. M. THACKERAY (Grand-Father of the Novelist).  
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Governor of Bengal—4th March 1865. This view is as interesting for the additional reason that it shows us the General Post Office, completed in 1868, in the course of erection.

IN her Biographical Introduction to the *Roundabout Papers* Lady Ritchie quotes these words of her father :—" I must tell you the truth, as I believe it in opposition to what I consider to be erroneous ; and when I was going to die, as I thought I was one night, I was as easy in mind and as trustful of God and as confident in His wisdom and mercy as St. Augusting or St. Teresa, or Lady Huntingdon, or the Rev. Cæsar Malan—I mean any Churchman high or low, and so no more about it." It is worth while reminding ourselves that Solomon Cæsar Malan held the post of Classical Lecturer at Bishop's College, Calcutta, from the year 1837 to the year 1840, and that he was ordained Deacon in India in 1838. Born at Geneva, about one year after Thackeray was born at Calcutta, Malan, when he matriculated at Oxford was even more proficient in the Greek language than he was in the English, and it is on record that his request to be allowed to answer his examination papers in Greek was disallowed by the University authorities. Malan's scholarship reflected on Bishop's College the glories of her first Principal, William Hodge Mill, of whom Rose wrote " one of the few men, who, in this day, in their reading and acquirements recall to us the memory of the giants." It would be interesting to hear how Thackeray came to select Cæsar Malan as a typical High Church saint.

AMONG the mysteries connected with the history of the Thackeray family in India there is one which might perhaps be cleared up by a reference to the Note Books of Mr. Puisne Justice Hyde at the Bar Library. Sir William Hunter in the *Thackerays in India* (pp. 91-2) writes :—

" In 1774 a batch of elephants, for which Thackeray was the real although not the ostensible contractor, turned out badly. Only sixteen of sixty-four survived their trying march across India to Belgaum—a distance of about a thousand miles. The price of the animals averaged Rs. 1,000 each, and the Government, having given an advance of Rs. 33,000, disputed the balance and called on Thackeray to divulge his connection with the nominal contractors. He refused, on the ground that if he were to do so, ' he might, by breaking his promise, forfeit the character of a man of principle and honour, and suffer in the opinion of his friends.' He preferred to bring the matter before a judicial tribunal, boldly sued the Company in the Supreme Court of Bengal, and obtained a decree for Rs. 29,600 (say £3,700) and costs. The Court of Directors resented the loss. A couple of years after Thackeray had left India ; they made it the subject of one of the carping despatches with which they



rewarded the hard and faithful service of their Governor-General, Warren Hastings. The Bengal Government, it appears, had gone carefully into the matter, but did not find it possible to resist Thackeray's claim in Court. Francis and his partisans, as usual, turned the action of the Governor-General into material for a malignant charge. But there can be but little doubt that the pure-handed Hastings did his best in this as in other cases to see justice done. He himself, at an earlier period, held a contract for the supply of commissariat bullocks. Hastings had thus a personal knowledge of the very class of transactions in which Thackeray was engaged, and he knew perfectly what permissible and what was not under the system of anonymous trade when practised in Bengal. His whole career, and especially his strict control as Governor-General, made it certain that if, in the interests of the Company, he could have defended the suit he would have done so."

Mr. H. Beveridge in his *District of Bakerganj* refers to the proceedings of the Dacca Provincial Council, preserved at the India Office, and notes the name of W. M. Thackeray as third member of the Dacca Council, and asks if this W. M. Thackeray was the *father* of the novelist! I have been tempted to quote what Mr. Beveridge has to say on the subject of this transaction in elephants; but, on more mature consideration, I have decided to write Home and if possible procure copies of the documents on which Mr. Beveridge's note is based. It is perfectly clear from Mr. Beveridge's note that Sir William Hunter had not fathomed the transaction he alludes to, and his appeal to the general good reputation of Warren Hastings is absurd when there are concrete charges of maladministration to be dealt with. Mr. Beveridge quotes the following passage from the Court's letter which refers to Thackeray (grandfather of the novelist) as "a man whose duplicity has just been manifested, who has, to use the Governor-General's words, been convicted of having secretly obtained the farm of Sylhet under fictitious letter, and persecuted for that offence," and they say "nor are we able to reconcile the Governor-General's tenderness for Mr. Thackeray's honour and delicacy with his own further declaration that from the above transaction Mr. Thackeray had been unanimously and justly condemned." The Sylhet District Records throw no light on either Thackeray's alleged secret farming of the revenues or the transaction in regard to the elephants, for when Thackeray left Sylhet he took away the papers with him and deposited them at Dacca, where they have disappeared. Sir William Hunter's book represents a most incomplete inquiry tricked out by the acts of a picturesque imagination and the fond beliefs of a hero worshiper. He in reality has nothing to tell us about the novelist's grandfather at Sylhet, and he covers over the gap by telling us about Robert Lindsay at Sylhet, and, after getting thoroughly muddled about the dates of the









ARCHDEACON THACKERAY AND HIS WIFE.  
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marriages of the Thackeray sisters, he sets himself to invent little stories about them to suit the purpose of his romance. The publishers of the *Thackerays in India* "remaindered" that charming but inaccurate book several years ago, and we trust that if it ever be again republished it will be after its statements have been tested by research. To those who, in connection with the coming centenary, have recourse to it, caution is most earnestly recommended. Sir William Hunter's *Rural Annals of Bengal* (1868) reached a third edition within four months of its publication—and the *Thackerays in India* has been "remaindered!" The introduction to the *Bengal M.S. Records* was probably Sir William's best achievement, but how few of us know of its existence!

I HAVE mentioned the Sylhet District Records. The papers from 1777 to 1790 have gone to the Press. The editing of the Rungpore Records is now all but completed. Rungpore introduces us to many interesting Collectors—Charles Purling, George Bogle (the Tibetan traveller) and Peter Moore (the supporter of Sheridan and the guardian of Thackeray the novelist). Those who have read the vigorous autobiography of the Hon'ble Robert Lindsay in the *Lives of the Lindsays* will anticipate the wealth of interest the Sylhet Records possess.

THE gratitude of the Society to Messrs. Smith Elder and Co., for permission generously accorded for the reproduction of several illustrations from the Biographical Edition of Thackeray's works. We have the portraits of:—

1. Archdeacon and Mrs. Thackeray, William Makepeace Thackeray, the Collector of Sylhet and grandfather of the novelist was their sixteenth and youngest son.

2. William Makepeace Thackeray, the novelist's grandfather. It is a mistake to speak of him as the *first* Collector of Sylhet, John Sumner, who went to Sylhet in 1770 as "Supravisor," became the first Collector of that unruly frontier district.

3. John Harman Becher, whose daughter married Richmond Thackeray and was thus the novelist's mother.

4. Richmond Thackeray, his wife, and little child of three years who was to become the most famous of all that distinguished family.

To the *Hindustan Review* Mr. Hari Charan Biswas has contributed an interesting article on the Founder of Calcutta—Job Charnock; but he makes the old wearisome mistake of supposing that there is a verse inscription on the tomb of "Pilot Townsend." I have gone into this matter in past



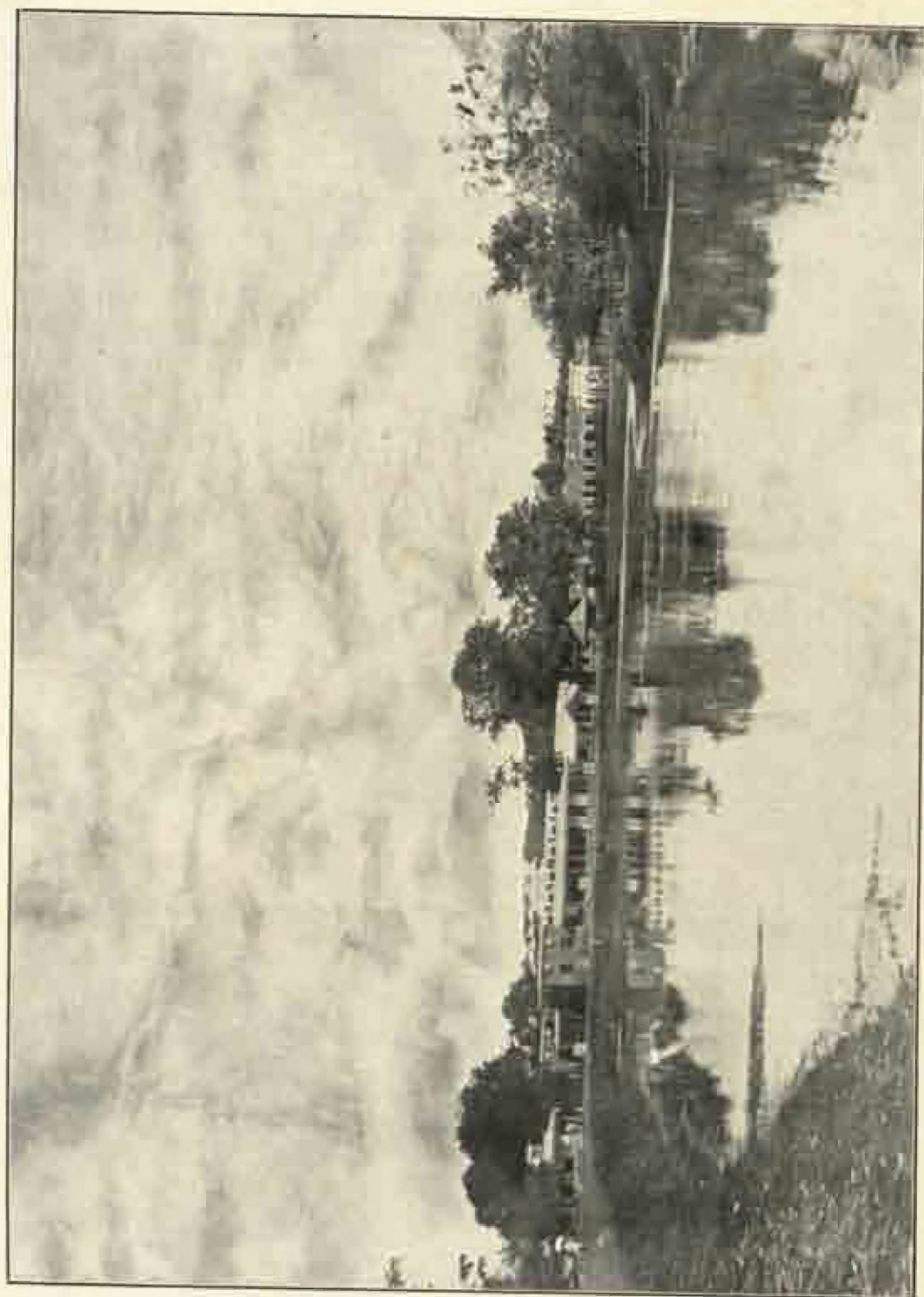
numbers of *Bengal: Past and Present*, and all I can say here is that the verses, which never appeared in any tomb in St. John's compound, saw light for the first time in the *Englishman* in July 1869, and they were most probably an original contribution on the part of Dr. Norman Cheevers. The verses are of no historical value whatsoever. Mr. Hari Charan Biswas gives the year 1678 as the date of the [supposed] rescue of Charnock's bride from *sati*. Katherine, Job's third daughter, died in 1707 aged nineteen, and the eldest daughter, Mary, cannot have been born much before 1677. Mr. Biswas hints that Charnock built the mausoleum in his lifetime. It was most probably built by Job's son-in-law, Sir C. Eyre, at least four years after Job's death. While on the subject of the Charnocks, I may here offer a correction of a statement in Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, a work which almost defeats the powers of the most minute critic to correct. Mr. Hyde (p. 45) writes:—"The second daughter of Job, *Elizabeth*, survived in Calcutta, till 1753. She was the widow of William Bowridge, Junior Merchant, who was buried on the 16th April 1724." The William Bowridge of this note was the son, not the husband, of Charnock's second daughter. The *Bengal Public Consultations* of July 31, 1718, show that at that date "Mrs. Elizabeth Bowridge" was "the relict of Mr. William Bowridge deceased," and that her son "William Bouridge was born Tuesday the 6th August, in the year of our Lord sixteen hundred and ninety-five, between eight and nine of the clock at night in this Town of Calcutta, which is registered and wrote by her Husband's own hand in the leaf of her small Bible which leaf she has by her." In the footnote of P. 84, *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II, last line, for "1734" please read "1724."

THE death of Mr. Walter Scott Seton-Karr, recently announced, should not pass unnoticed by *Bengal: Past and Present*. His *Grant of Rothiemurkus* Sir John Peter Grant—the Judge not the Lieutenant-Governor) was privately issued, and is therefore not very well known: but the *Cornwallis* in the "Rulers of India" series is a justly popular work, although it rather scamps the subject of Cornwallis' military performances. The volumes of *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes* are a rich mine of information for students of Calcutta History, but the absence of indices reduce the value of the publica-  
tion by at least 50 per cent. Seton-Karr was the President of the Record Commission—an institution which, in the interests of historical science, should be revived. As far as one can form a judgment the Commission worked on *dilettante* rather than scientific lines, and as if the object of historical research is to provide amusing books ["curiosities" is the word Sandeman uses] rather than to supply the raw matter for the historian to work up into shape. In dealing with sources for history no one man is competent to









SALJET, THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF COLLECTOR THACKERAY'S HOME, SHewing THE NEW MAGISTRATE'S COURT HOUSE.



decide which documents are and which are not important. The student who cares for matters of personal or local history will be unfair to documents of first importance to the students of economic and social history, while the student of institutions will perhaps regard the personal and private records as but trivial. It is, of course, true that in every collection there are a vast number of documents, such as receipts for money advances, covering letters, etc., which need only to be catalogued, but the catalogue should be adequate and omit neither names nor dates. A mere covering letter for instance is evidence that such or such an office existed, that such or such a person held it at such or such a time, and that he was subordinate to or superior to such or such another officer. The Record authorities in England have pointed out to the Indian Government the danger there is in providing mere selections, and it is for this reason the Imperial Record Department has so far been printing press lists and not the actual records. When, however, the Record Commission was formed nearly half a century ago, first principles were not well understood, and even at the present day it is not very easy to get folk to see that it is absolutely necessary in record publishing to deal with the whole collection and not merely with the papers supposed to be "more important." The Rev. J. Long's *Selections from the Records of the Government of India* was one of the fruits of the Commission, and it well illustrates the failure of the *dilettante* method. Long's volume does not enable us to trace the history of any single institution, person, or place, although it again and again throws light on various subjects and affords striking illustrations. When once "Selections" have been published, enough has been put forward to afford a pretext for abstaining from dealing with the records exhaustively, but not enough has been published to substantiate historical statements. In regard to the *Calcutta Gazette* it is hard to see how anything else could have been done but to make selections. Both Seton-Karr and his successor Hugh Sandeman have let much to be gleaned after reaping their harvest: and to them as the earliest husbandmen in these rich fields a debt of deep gratitude should be acknowledged. Would that their work might be continued.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.





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